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## The Young Generation and the 18th Congress of the Bolshevik Party

By Otto Meier

**T**HE 18th Congress of the Party of the victorious proletarian revolution, of the bold builders of Communism, took place from March 10 to 20 in the Kremlin in Moscow. This historic event is of inestimable importance for the struggle being waged by the whole of progressive youth against its mortal enemy—bloody fascism, the organiser of the second imperialist war. Even to-day, many millions of young men, women and children are subjected to horrible sufferings by the wars provoked by fascism. Fascism has destroyed the liberty and national independence of the peoples of Abyssinia, Austria, Spain, Czechoslovakia, and large parts of China. The youth, the flower and pride of these peoples, are suffering particularly under the régime of national servitude installed by the barbarians of Berlin, Rome and Tokyo.

In these times, so tragic for the younger generation, the speech of *Stalin*, leader of the great and powerful nations of the Soviet Union and of the world proletariat, comes like a flash in the night.

One of the most dangerous accomplices of fascism is the spirit of capitulation which helps fascism to devour its prey without trouble. The supporters of capitulation are at work to-day in all the capitalist countries. They preach to the youth that fascist slavery is preferable to a struggle against the aggressors. The defeatist policy of Franco-British reaction, to which Hitler owes in no small way his prey, aims at a war by fascist Germany against the Soviet Union; they urge Hitler towards a great action in the East, hoping that they will benefit from an act of aggression against the Soviet Union. Stalin threw out a warning to these politicians when he said at the 18th Congress that this policy "might recoil on their heads."

The struggle of the youth for the liberty, national independence and autonomy of their country against the fascist aggressors must be translated into a relentless struggle against the reactionaries who are openly preaching surrender to Italian and German fascism, or who are secretly preparing such a surrender. The youth must drive all these infamous



supporters of capitulation from their ranks, and deprive them of all influence in public life.

The gates of Madrid were not blown up by the bombs of the rebels and interventionists, but were opened by the ignominious treason of *Casado* and *Besteiro*, who stabbed the Spanish people in the back, at the orders of French and British reaction. Austria had her traitor—*Seyss-Inquart*, and Czechoslovakia hers in the person of *Gajda*. The shameful role of these traitors was and is the handing over of the country to the fascist aggressor, to break the resistance of the people from within. In the Soviet Union the people knew how to stop the work of these traitors and agents of fascism in time. In his speech, *Stalin* characterised this cleansing process as follows:

"Certain foreign Pressmen have been talking drivel to the effect that the purging of the Soviet organisations of spies, assassins and wreckers like *Trotsky*, *Zinoviev*, *Kamenev*, *Yakir*, *Tukhachevsky*, *Rosengolz*, *Bukharin*, and other fiends has 'shaken the Soviet system and caused its demoralisation.' One can only laugh at such cheap drivel. How can the purging of Soviet organisations of noxious and hostile elements shake and demoralise the Soviet system?"

It is with a sense of profound grief that the youth of Spain, Czechoslovakia and Austria think that in their countries, the united force of the people, which could have crushed these traitors in time, was lacking. Whether it be in France or America, everywhere the traitors, the creatures of fascism, the Trotskyist bands, are at work in the service of fascism, in order to undermine the forces of the people and to open the frontiers of their country to the aggressors of Berlin, Rome and Tokyo. Progressive youth must struggle for the extermination of these traitors. This is demanded for the peace of the world and for the well-being of the people.

Besides these very important facts, the 18th Congress showed the youth of the world that the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union, under the direction of the Party of Lenin and *Stalin*, has not only rendered the country strong and invincible as regards the outside world, but that the country itself is immeasurably richer. This wealth is reflected in the fact that the Soviet people and its youth are the happiest people of our time. *Molotov* said in his report, entitled "The Third Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy," that "from now onwards, the Soviet Union has entered a new phase of development, the phase of the final achievement of the classless, Socialist society, and of the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism." The younger generation is assisting in the realisation of humanity's dream—the triumph of Communism.

The countryside which, in the capitalist countries is the seat of ignorance and lack of culture, has changed fundamentally under the sun of Socialism. Not only has the Soviet village become richer; it has also become more cultured. The content of life for the youth of the Soviet village has been enormously enriched. Through collectivisation and the intensive application of technique, Socialism has relieved agricultural work of its laboriousness. The young peasant has become a free man. Let us recall for a moment how the peasant youth of fascist Germany is humiliated, degraded to the ranks of a class without rights. He is barred from the town, and in the village he is forced to be the servant of the lord instead of possessing land of his own. Things are very different for Soviet youth. Master of his own soil, he also has the right to a place in Socialist industry to such an extent that *Stalin*, at the 18th Congress, asked the collective farms to supply at least a million to a million-and-a-half young collective farm workers annually to Socialist industry.

At the same time as *Goebbels* writes in the *Voelkischer Beobachter*: "Moreover, national-socialism has this in common with Italian fascism, that it despises a comfortable and therefore happy life," the Soviet land is consolidating the wellbeing of the masses. Socialism produces a pleasant life for humanity. In the space of five years, the national income of the Soviet Union has passed from 48.5 to 105 million roubles. *Stalin's* report to the 18th Congress expressed clearly the fact that Socialism has brought a great and unprecedented impetus to the culture and education of the masses. Constructing universities, theatres,

cinemas, libraries—this means to act for the good of youth. During the past five years, 20,607 schools have been built, *Stalin* reports, and the number of students in all grades of schools has risen from 23,814,000 in 1934 to 33,965,400 to-day. Socialism has given birth to a new stratum of intellectuals who are the flesh and blood of the people, for they are their own sons and daughters. What power Socialism breathes! *Stalin* said:

"We want all workers and peasants to be cultured and educated, and we shall achieve this in time."

Every regime in the world boasts of its service to the youth, of being "A Youth State." Hitler-Germany herself, which now has a project in hand for the construction of large baths for the youth, calls itself "A Youth State." By their hollow phrases, these wolves in sheep's clothing hope to disguise their policy of hostility towards the life, happiness and good health of the youth. The Soviet Union is missing from this chorus, but in reality she is the only country in the world where the youth is not an oppressed stratum, but enjoys equality of rights in every sense of the term. There, youth has a place everywhere, even in the highest functions of the State. Deputies of 19 and 20 years; young people of the same age directing large State departments; giant enterprises presided over by young collective farm workers; there, these things are natural and usual occurrences. On the question of placing young people in responsible positions, *Stalin* said:

"As to the young cadres, they, of course have not the experience, schooling, the knowledge of affairs and the capacity of orientation of the old cadres. But, firstly the young cadres constitute the vast majority; secondly, they are young and, as yet are not subject to the danger of going out of commission; (*Stalin* had said previously that old cadres are eliminated from the work as a result of the elemental laws of nature); thirdly, they possess in abundance the sense of the new; and fourthly, they develop and acquire knowledge so rapidly, they press forward so eagerly, that the time is not far off when they will overtake the old fellows, take their stand side by side with them, and become a worthy replacement for them."

Thus, *Stalin* has an unshakeable faith in the forces of youth, which inspire him with profound confidence.

The Bolshevik Party Congress has furnished the proof that Marxism-Leninism is a creative force. In his speech, *Stalin* went on to develop the point of view of Marxism-Leninism with regard to the State and defined the new role of the Soviet intellectuals. This creative enrichment of Marxism-Leninism by *Stalin*, constitutes a great ideological enrichment of the international workers' movement. It is about the realisation of this that *Lenin* said:

"We do not regard Marxist theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the corner-stone of the science which Socialists must further advance in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life."

There is yet another thing that the Congress showed clearly to the youth: it is the bankruptcy of social democracy and the triumph of Bolshevism. Contrary to all the prophecies of the reformists, the Soviet Union has become the most powerful factor for peace in the world. The might of the Soviet Union is placed exclusively in the service of the forces of peace, and represents a powerful aid for world democracy. That this triumph of the Soviet Union has been possible is due entirely to the fact that the Bolshevik Party knew how to forge the unity of the Soviet people in the struggle for Communism. The youth of the whole world can draw a lesson from this, and repulse all those who are opposing the unity of proletarian youth, for the victory of unity is the guarantee of the victory over fascism.

This Congress will strengthen the faith of youth in its own power and in its victory.



# Appeal of Dimitroff for International Unity of Action

**WHAT** is it that makes possible the offensive of the fascist aggressors and their savage attacks?

The main reason essentially is that fascist aggression and the letting loose of imperialist war, which are taking place with the tolerance of the ruling circles of the bourgeois-democratic countries, have not as yet met with the necessary rebuff from the masses of the people. But they are not meeting with this rebuff because the working class of the capitalist countries have not succeeded in overcoming the split in their ranks, in coming forward in a united front and in winning over their allies—the peasantry and the middle classes of the town.

We Communists know that in the world Labour movement the forces of the supporters of united working-class action are growing and gathering strength; that ever-wider circles of workers are powerfully raising their voices on behalf of the establishment of unity.

We also know that profound processes of differentiation are taking place within the Second International, that with every passing day increasing numbers of leading figures in the ranks of social democracy and the trade unions are giving expression to the will of the workers by more and more determinedly raising the question of the establishment of a united front with the Communist Parties.

And we are firmly convinced that the day is not far distant when, under the pressure of the millions of the working class, this united front will become an accomplished fact.

No force will stop this inevitable historic process. It is imperatively demanded by the entire course of events, and primarily by the need to struggle against the war of plunder being kindled by the fascist aggressors.

On this basis the Communist International once again addresses to the Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions an appeal to establish united action.

In its *May Day Manifesto* the Executive Committee of the Communist International declares:

"Expressing the will of the working class of all countries, the Communist International proposes to the Executives of the Labour and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions immediately to commence negotiations regarding the establishment of a united front for struggle, against the instigators and incendiaries of war. The Communist International proposes to the Labour and Socialist International a platform of unity of action—defence of peace on the basis of a determined repulse to the fascist aggressors, the organisation of collective security, the struggle in each capitalist country against the treacherous policy of the reactionary bourgeoisie, who seek agreement with the fascist aggressors, to the detriment of the liberty and independence of their own nation. The Communist International proposes that a conference of labour organisations of the whole world be convened to draw up a concrete plan of action to map out the ways and means of struggle to devise a single organ for the co-ordination of joint action."

And he who really stands for the interests of the working class, who really sees in bloodthirsty fascism the enemy of all working people, he who has no desires to transform the earth into a sanguinary battlefield for the sake of the interests of the bourgeoisie, cannot turn down the proposal of the Communist International.

*The Communists, the advanced workers and all united front supporters will make this proposal of the Communist International the starting-point for a mighty campaign on behalf of united action and the extensive mobilisation of the masses for the struggle against fascism and war.*

## Youth and Politics

### The Position of the American Youth

By Carl Ross

**EVERYONE** knows his neighbour better than he knows himself. And we are particularly interested in the 21 million Americans between 16 and 21 years of age, who are the nearest to us and who are Young America. Together, we are an influential and important group; there are twice as many young people in America as there are inhabitants of Canada. We equal half the French population and nearly ten times the total of men living in the American colonies in 1770.

Nearly half these young Americans live on farms and in small towns. The others live in the big cities and in closer concentration. Nearly 6,000,000 of them are studying at secondary schools, while only a million go to colleges. But five millions go to school or work. Only 500,000 of them have found work, and that thanks to Government schemes. Nearly 1,500,000 others have only part-time work.

During the years of economic depression, nearly 1,500,000 young men had to postpone their marriages.

Youth's awareness of the special character of their problems has increased their faith in democracy and has in fact contributed to their gathering around a united, progressive front. It may be useful to emphasise two important facts in the recent history of the youth movement.

(a) A tendency to action and advancement of progressive

thought, better democracy within all the leading youth organisations, as well as lively action in favour of unity.

(b) The growth of our organisation of young Communists, whose active membership has grown from 3,000 in 1931 to 25,000 in 1939 and which is now gaining its place in the extremely diverse family of youth organisations.

Since the 19th century, Protestants have been organised, thanks to the support of the Church, for religious instruction of youth, the formation of character, and with a view to approaching the new problems raised by the new industrial civilisation resulting from the economic revolution: social needs and leisure of youth. Among these organisations there are the Y.W.C.A. (1858) and the Y.M.C.A. (1866), the Union of Young Baptists (1891) and the Epworth League (1889).

#### BIRTH OF THE YOUTH MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

But it was the 1929 financial crash which awakened youths' interest in social problems. It was in 1934 that the unity movement of Christian Youth was formed (Christian Youth Movement to Create a New World); this embraces youth groups of 40 Protestant sects and numbers about 10,000,000 sympathisers. These declared their intention of "joining all those who wish to build a world based on fraternity, where the possibilities given by God will be utilised for all humanity; where co-operation will replace competition, where peace will reign instead of war, and where privilege will give place to justice and equality for all."

The Catholic Church has always shown its interest in youth by opening special schools; thus the greatest number of its organisations for youth count, above all, on students. It was not till 1930, when the unemployment problem reached great propor-



tions and new problems confronted Catholic youth, that a great national organisation was formed, comprising 12 centres in the dioceses. It claimed then to "group in a single organisation the Catholic youth of each parish, and to be concerned with both its spiritual and material welfare, thanks to a well-balanced programme of spiritual cultural, physical and social activity." This programme declared itself in favour of "health, morality and good human relations." The leadership of this movement is taken principally by the "National Catholic Welfare Conference" and particularly by *Father Vincent Mooney*, who belongs to this institution. The number of its members is growing, its influence is great—though figures have not yet been given.

Jewish youth is among the best organised. Here one can observe a progressive tendency with regard to social problems. The Jewish youth organisations, in almost all large communities, enter local federations developed around local community centres, under the aegis, for the most part, of the Jewish Welfare Bureau, which also favours the Y.M.H.A. and the Y.W.H.A. The American Youth Congress seems to wish to transform itself into a larger and wider centre of activity, but there is not yet a national organism really capable of uniting the Jewish youth organisations. In fact, the American Youth Congress has contributed to forming a co-operative movement, far more than any other organism among the national organisations and the local groups.

Negro youth is more widely organised by the Church, in groups, such as the B.Y.P.U., the Baptist Young People's Union, but movements such as the National Movement for the Emancipation of Coloured People, the Urban League, and the National Negro Congress, have a large influence. The most important movement of young Negroes is the Negro Youth Congress of the South, led by *Edward Strong*, founded two years ago and including a wide stratum of Southern Negroes, around a programme of furthering the cultural, social and economic interests of Negro youth and preparing them for the exercise of civic rights. At Harlem, Chicago, Saint-Louis and other towns, local councils and federations are showing, by certain signs, that they are willing to carry on united activity not only in the interests of Negro Youth, but also for co-operation with the A.Y.C. and other movements. A recent conference, handling the problems of Negro youth, held by the National Youth Administration, shows the enormous strength that such a united national movement, functioning as such, can have.

Every year the student movement arouses the attention of the whole nation by its annual manifestation in favour of peace. The Union of American Students is under the leadership of *Joseph Lash*. Its last appeal asked that the Students' Union be formed around the New Deal and that a national assembly of students be held with a view to a great campaign for next winter. At present hundreds of organisations exist; among them are the Student Christian Movement and the National Student Federation of America.

Among the young people who work on the farms or in small towns of America, those grouped within the organisations are the strongest allies of the democratic youth movement. The 4H Club has 2,000,000 members (particularly in the agricultural schools and under 18 years of age). It proposes to "help children and young country girls to do useful work in agriculture." We may mention the "Future Farmers of America," organised in agricultural schools, the Union of Junior Farmers, the Bureau of Young Farmers and the Christian Youth Movement, all of which are equally important movements.

Participation of these latter groupings in the general youth movement has been limited, so far, to small delegations sent to the Youth Congress and to the World Youth Congress, but it is to be hoped that they will work out a programme which will suit them and that they will form a united movement for rural youth. It is a necessary condition of the younger generation's remaining faithful to democracy.

Here we can cite only the leading organisations: the Boy Scouts, the sports movement of the Amateur Athletic Union, and the Settlement House movement, the last including several national groups and others which are equally important. We must add that hundreds of thousands of young people are hence-

forth organised in the trade union movement, thanks to the growth of the C.I.O., which constitutes an important and decisive sector of organised youth. During the last decade, the unity movement among youth has broken down old barriers among young people. The American Youth Congress, founded in August 1934, forms the centre of co-operation of the youth groups. An achievement of the same epoch is the United Christian Youth Movement, founded the same year. These two centres of co-operation have worked together in the past, notably at the World Youth Congress and in various American Youth Congresses. It is in the interest of all young people that this co-operation between the two largest youth movements should be reinforced and pushed ahead, nationally and locally. It goes without saying that co-operation between these movements and the Catholic youth is also necessary. The obstacles to this co-operation have come from certain Catholics, rather than from other organisations.

The Council of Young Southerners, founded in the course of the session of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, is a movement which is represented at the Youth Congress and which plays an important part in the South.

## THE TASKS OF THE AMERICAN YOUTH MOVEMENT.

Other problems confront the youth movement. If it is to make headway and to become more influential, it must find out how to change present conditions and raise its activity to a higher level. The alternative is: stagnation or lack of effectiveness. Having worked during the years of the economic depression to direct American attention to the conditions of youth and to obtain concessions from the Government, it must now make youth an effective and powerful force for democracy, particularly in the decisive struggle of 1940.

The essential problem is the preparation for the exercise of citizenship, instruction of young Americans in the principles of democracy by means of wider discussion and activity. This opinion is shared by the Scouts, the Catholics and the Communists, as well as by almost all the important youth organisations. A crusade for citizenship, for a youth forum in each community on the basis of the Town Hall; liberty of discussion in all organisations, lessons in citizenship, these are the essentials to-day.

Democratic unity of the youth can be obtained on such a basis: youth will then enter the ranks of the Democratic Front. A new type of youth organisation, progressive and on a mass basis, such as the New Deal democratic youth clubs, like the committees of civic and non-party youth, supporting progressive candidates at elections, can develop rapidly, if wider organisations are built up and progressive youth unity is won in 1940. Such must be the aim of all progressive youth which supports the New Deal programme.

## AUSTRALIA

### SECOND YOUTH ASSEMBLY

The Council of Australian Youth of New South Wales announces that the second Youth Assembly will take place in Sydney from June 2 to June 12.

During this time, the Annual Conference of the Council and a Regional Youth Convention will be held. Last year, at the first Assembly, the young Australians undertook to work for peace and progress with all the means at their disposal. This undertaking will be renewed in June. The Australian delegates to the second World Youth Congress will give an account of their deliberations and will take part in the discussion. *Miss Nina Kildhal* (Comrade of St. George) will present the report. Other speakers will be *Miss Jill Morley* (Young Women's Christian Association), *Miss Margery Cardwell* and *Mr. Ingram Smith* (Australian Youth Council), and *Mr. Ian MacLaren* (Young Men's Christian Association).

The Australian Youth Charter will have an important place on the Conference agenda; it will be proposed by the committee responsible for drawing it up. Among other items on the agenda are education, leisure, international relations, and religious problems.



## An Historic Document of the United Socialist Youth of Spain

A FEW days after the betrayal by *Casado*, *Besteiro* and *Miaja*, the Executive Committee of the United Socialist Youth (U.Y.S.) of Spain, which opposed the "treason Junta" with exemplary courage, published the document which follows.

This document shows how clearly our brave brothers in the U.Y.S. judged the Junta. Above all, it shows that the U.Y.S. has not lost its perspective of struggle, and will continue to lead Spanish youth along the right path. The spirit of self-sacrifice and confidence which has carried the youth of Spain through 32 months of glorious struggle is still alive. Here is the document:

The moment has come to speak clearly. The U.Y.S. has publicly announced that it will support the National Defence Council only on the condition that it abandon its policy of dividing the people, and of repression against anti-fascists—among them the Unified Socialist Youth—whose only offence is that of having always fought in the front rank against the invader. The Council is not changing its policy, and it becomes clearer every day that it is dragging the country towards an incalculable disaster, in which the flower of the people and of the heroic Spanish youth will perish. The U.Y.S. cannot be accessories to this frightful treachery—even if only by their silence. The U.Y.S. is also going to tell youth the truth, so that they may not be surprised by the turn of events and may know who is responsible.

The Council claims that it has constituted itself in order to conclude a peace, and for this reason has addressed a public appeal to Franco to open negotiations. Following the advice of their masters in Rome and Berlin, the fascists have made a scornful reply and have demanded an unconditional surrender, under threat of crushing the Council by force.

How did the Council reply to this? What solution remained for the Spanish people? The only possibility left to the Spanish people was to organise such a resistance as would make the invaders see reason, and conclude a peace with guarantees. The policy of the Council is to divide the people, to stir up strife among the anti-fascists, to destroy the morale and discipline of the Army, to disarm our people and to hand them over to the mercy of our enemies. We also say to the youth that the Council never intended to sue for an honourable peace, but to hand over the Spanish people to the ferocity of the fascist invader. Without the fascists having even conquered us, the Council is already beginning to apply the same policy which the invaders will apply if they succeed in entirely dominating the Republic. With a ferocity which put in the shade even Nazi methods, the Council has carried out a policy of repression against the best elements of the working class, the youth and the Army. In Madrid, there are 10,000 anti-fascists, among them thousands of young people, who are imprisoned and who are at the mercy of the invaders should they enter the capital. Their crime is that of having defended the legal Government of the Republic to the end, and of having fought against the invader in the front line. They are the young soldiers of the Sierra, of November 7, of the volunteer divisions. They are the young shock workers who increased war production in the factories of Madrid. They are the magnificent young girls of Madrid who remained staunch in adversity.

*Eugenio Meson*, beloved leader of the Madrid youth, is in prison together with *Etelvino Vega*, one of the heroes of the Ebro, and *Cazorla*, a member of our Executive Committee.

While the well-known fascist chiefs were released, the Council did not hesitate to order the shooting of *Lieutenant-Colonel Barcelo*, one of the most faithful leaders to the cause of our independence. The repression carried out by the Council did not hesitate to use the same vile methods as employed by fascism in all countries. In Madrid, for example, the agents of the Council filled the locals of the besieged organisations with food during the night. The next day, the public were told that the Communists and the U.Y.S. were hoarding. The Press in the service of the Council devoted whole columns to calumny against the U.S.S.R., and in this way placed itself on the side of the Powers which are invading our country.

This means that not only is the Council organising the

unconditional surrender to Franco, but that it is already carrying out the policy of Franco against the people who have fought with such heroism for three years in order to prevent Spain from becoming a German-Italian colony, and to save the Spanish people from a life of misery and terror.

Young anti-fascists of all tendencies who have been unknowingly deceived by the cynical demagoguery of the Council and who honestly thought that it was going to bring them an honourable peace, must shed their illusions. To-day, it is the U.Y.S. that they are murdering and throwing into prison. To-day, it is the U.Y.S. which is forced into illegality together with other anti-fascist groups. All this is leading us to a situation with no loophole for escape, and to-morrow, when the fascists, drunk with hate, appropriate our towns and countryside, all young people, without distinction of tendency, will become their victims. Liberals, Unified Socialist Youth, Republicans—all will be annihilated without distinction. And once again, unemployment, ignorance and slavery will be the future of youth. Nothing will remain of the social and cultural conquests which the youth of Spain have defended for three years at the cost of so much blood.

This is the sinister work of *Casado*, *Besteiro* and *Socrates*, of all the clique who, besmirching the name of socialist, anarchist and republican, organised the *coup d'état* of March 6. The U.Y.S. vehemently condemns these criminals who wish to render null and void the blood poured out by the youth. Their last exploit was to achieve their long-cherished desire—that of dividing the youth—by creating a "socialist" youth group. It need not be said that the creation of this splitting group which was defeated at the last National Plenum of the U.Y.S. by the will of the whole of the Unified Socialist Youth, has been received in the ranks of youth with the scorn and hatred it deserves, for it deals a blow at the unity of revolutionary youth.

The state of affairs brought about by these events is unbearable. The U.Y.S., which has always spoken the truth, will not now deceive the youth. It is practically impossible to prevent the shameful surrender organised by the National Council from being carried into effect. The U.Y.S., always at its post in the struggle, is ready to combine with all young people who bear the name honourably, and who fight for the independence of their country, to use every possibility for a supreme effort. But if the fascist invaders should prevail—and this seems likely—and dominate the whole of Republican territory whose lines of defence have been broken by the traitors of the Council, the U.Y.S. appeals to all young Spaniards to carry on the struggle with all the means at their disposal in the new conditions; to keep the ideal of national independence, liberty and progress alive in the hearts of young Spaniards, in order that we might quickly create the conditions which will enable us to throw out of Spain these invaders who, because of the cowardice of some and the treachery of others, are preparing to subject us to slavery.

If to-morrow, as a result of the treason of the Council clique, Italy and Germany should triumph in Spain, they will try to use the Spanish heroic youth, steeled in the struggle, as shock troops in the war against the democratic Powers and the U.S.S.R. In this case, the U.Y.S. must struggle in order to undermine the army and the rearguard, to bring about the defeat of the fascist lands and their lackeys in Spain.

In order to lead this struggle well, the unity of youth is essential. The unity of working youth, of its most conscientious and advanced sections, realised in the common desire to ensure that Spain shall not be for ever enslaved, in order to bring the day when the flag of independence, liberty and happiness for our children will be raised triumphantly.

The Unified Socialist Youth, wherever they may be, will fight unceasingly for this great cause of organising and uniting the youth for new struggles.

For a free, independent and united Spain!

Forward, Spanish Youth!

Forward, the thousand times glorious Unified Socialist Youth!

The National Executive Committee of the U.Y.S.

Madrid, March 21, 1939.



## Scandinavian Youth Must Fight for Collective Security

**B**ECAUSE of the failure of their governments, the youth of the northern countries are threatened with being driven into a bloody war in which they will not have the support of any one of the great non-fascist countries. For this reason the youth must be in the front ranks of the fight against the nefarious policy of "neutrality" for collective security.

### THE OSLO MEETING OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOCIALIST YOUTH OF THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES

A few days before the occupation of Prague by German troops, the leadership of the social-democratic youth of the northern countries met in Oslo. The resolution adopted by the leaders of the social-democratic youth denies the possibility of collective security, and boasts of the isolation, the "neutrality" of the small northern countries, over whose head hangs the bloody hand of the "Aryan" aggressors. It is extremely regrettable that, in such a situation, the Co-ordinating Committee of the social-democratic youth of the northern countries should have rejected the proposals of the Communist youth of the northern countries to organise a united counter-offensive against the fascist danger.

In thus refusing to promote the rallying of the forces of youth in the north, the leaders of the social-democratic youth movement show that they are unwilling to realise that the question which faces democracy in the northern countries is "to be, or not to be." It is the independence of the peoples of the north which is in danger. Is it really necessary to insist on this once again, when, alas, the facts speak so eloquently for themselves?

### THE DESIGNS OF HITLER ON SCANDINAVIA

The plans of the "Aryan race" with regard to the "rectification" of the frontiers of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, and even of Iceland, are clear. The whole world knows that 75 per cent. of the shares of the most important Swedish iron mining trusts are in the hands of such gentlemen as Krupp and the "Good Hope Forges and Foundries," people who do not distinguish themselves by an excessive love of the neutrality of the northern countries. It is not because of the beautiful eyes of Torsten Kreuger that the emissaries of Hitler, such as von Papen, are seeking to popularise the idea of capitulation in Sweden. Nor is it through love of the countryside that German spies are overrunning Denmark. Can it be imagined that *Fritz Klauser*, who is preparing for his country the fate of Czechoslovakia and whom the president of the Council, *Stauning*, qualified as a "traitor to the country," is working without a definite aim, and that it is for this reason that he has not yet been brought before the court?

When Goering demands an aviation base in *Iceland*, is it not because he sees in it the Balearics of the North, which will permit him to bomb the towns of Norway—this Spain of the North—with ease? As for the fortification of the *Aland Islands*, Hitler can get hold of them much more easily than those of Czechoslovakia. In any case, the German fascist organ, *Press Service of the Youth of the Reich*, of March 18, 1939, is well informed about the kind of future there is in store for *Finland*; it sees in the organisation "*Suomen Nuorisliitto*" the kernel of a future state youth organisation in Finland. Only we know with certainty that the democratic traditions of Finnish youth are too strong to let this organisation play the same role in our country, at any time, as the Hitler Youth in the Reich—unless the troops of the "Aryan" oppressors of small nations come to help it.

To sum up, the northern countries, one after another, are threatened with the same fate as Czechoslovakia. But the northern people, and their younger generation who love liberty, their Communist and social-democratic youth organisations be they in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland or Iceland, want none of this. They wish their countries to be defended against the aggressors.

## NEUTRALITY MEANS ISOLATION

The first condition for the successful defence of the countries of the north is the formation of a front of all nations against the aggressors, including the Scandinavian countries. It is true that, even if they are isolated, the peoples of these countries will defend their liberty, and they may be forced to do so, if their governments continue to stick to the policy of neutrality which can only encourage the aggressors and stir up war; but it would be senseless on the part of the governments of the northern countries to create a situation themselves in which their peoples would be forced to wage a bloody struggle for their independence without the aid of the great western democracies.

The policy of neutrality is a disastrous one. It is a policy of isolation. A time will come when all honest-minded people will realise this. But, in order that this time may not come too late, the youth of the northern countries, and above all the social-democratic and Communist youth—that is to say, the working-class youth—must be united. Through a united stand, the youth must force their governments to take effective measures to bar the road to the aggressors.

This is what is demanded in the interests of Scandinavian youth; and it does not mean war.

To the younger generation of the northern countries: do not support isolation and "neutrality" which generate war, but a system of collective security which, alone, can maintain peace.

## Great Youth Demonstration in Belgrade

**T**HE Committee of Youth organisations for national defence, whose appeal to youth we published in our last number, organised on April 22 a great united youth demonstration for national defence. In size, spirit of unity and will to resist, this demonstration surpassed all previous ones and created a profound impression in Belgrade as well as in the rest of the country.

More than 10,000 young students, workers, school boys and girls, Sokols (members of the sports organisation), Boy Scouts, young girls, apprentices, and so on, filled to overflowing the great amphitheatre where the meeting was held, as well as the adjoining court, the hall and almost all adjoining rooms in the building, where loud-speakers were installed. Several hundreds of representatives from patriotic, political and cultural organisations, as well as leading figures in the public, political and literary life of the capital, were present. Among these were the Rector of the University, *Dr. Dragoslav Jovenovitch*, the representative of the General Staff of the Army, *General Miloslavjevitch*, *Mr. Joca Jovenovitch*, president of the Agrarian Party, and others. The platform where sat representatives of youth organisations, was decorated with the national colours and banners bearing slogans "Unity of Youth for National Defence," "Long Live Free and Independent Yugoslavia," "We Will Not Cede an Inch of Our Territory." Fifteen Boy Scouts in uniform stood in front of the platform.

The meeting began with a report on The Mission and Tasks of our Youth in National Defence, presented by *Ivan Ribar*. After having analysed briefly the most recent development in the international situation and the dangers it held for Yugoslavia, *Ribar* showed the significance of the struggle for the defence of national independence for the youth.

"The defence of Yugoslav independence and the integrity of its territory against aggressors is to-day the common concern of our country, of all its nations, of its younger generation and also the concern of the cause of peace and the liberty of the world, the concern of all progressive humanity."

*Ribar* wound up amid a storm of applause showing that "the defence of Yugoslavia against aggressors means, for the youth, remaining faithful to their future, to their people and to the cause of fraternity and human liberty."



The report stressed particularly the necessity of struggle against defeatist tendencies and against all attempts "to lead Yugoslavia, under the pretext of 'neutrality,' etc., over to the side of the enemies of independence and peace, to make Yugoslavia the instrument of their conquests and future aggression.

"To be, at the core of the people, a strong barrier against aggression, that is to-day the mission of the younger generation in Yugoslavia, which is uniting in the national defence."

To fulfil this role, the forces of the youth must be still further strengthened and the already existing unity must be extended. Unity of young women workers, peasants and intellectuals and a campaign for improving their standard of living and working conditions is one factor of this struggle; collaboration and fraternity of the youth of all the nations of Yugoslavia, young Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, above all, is another factor.

The youth will give their support to efforts at consolidating the country and solving rapidly, on a democratic basis, the national problem and all internal problems concerning the national defence. In this campaign, the united youth must receive more help, must have more liberty than at present.

The report concluded with an evocation of the heroic past of our nations and an appeal to youth to unite in the struggle for their future and their country.

After this report, representatives of the youth organisations spoke, reading declarations from their organisations on the same subject. Dr. Dragitch brought a declaration of unreserved support from the *Sokols*, Yugoslavs who are glad of the unity which has been achieved in the ranks of the youth movement. Representatives of the National Federation of Boy Scouts, the Y.M.C.A., the Young Girls, the Temperance Youth, the Trade Union youth, women's student organisations, young intellectuals' organisations, the Aero Club, the Co-operative Youth, and the Youth press—whose spokesman was Dr. Ivkovitch, chief editor of "*Mladost*"—in turn stressed, from their organisations' point of view, the necessity of defending the independence and integrity of the country and of strengthening the unity of youth in this cause.

A representative of *Bulgarian youth*, loudly acclaimed, conveyed greetings from the youth of his country and expressed their desire to see collaboration achieved between the youth of all the Balkan countries for common resistance to aggression. The meeting concluded with singing of "The Slovenes" by the "Obilitch" student choir, a song which was taken up by the crowd, after which there were cheers for youth unity, national defence, democratic solidarity, etc.

This magnificent meeting created a great impression: it can be considered one of the greatest successes of the youth movement in Yugoslavia which, as it becomes more and more unified, prepares new campaigns and, at the same time, is the true voice of the nations of our country.

## Increasing Difficulties for Hitler Among Austrian Youth

ANYONE who lived in Austria a year ago and saw how Nazi propaganda had turned people's heads may, if he goes back, observe an immense change of attitude, especially among the youth. A year ago, large sections of the Austrian youth hailed Hitler vigorously and joyously; to-day, many of them look with hatred at the countless instruments of German oppression, the various commissars and envoys who carry out their nefarious work in Austria. The Austrian people's discontent with the present state of things has extended to the youth, above all among those who are already earning their living, who belong to the labour front or the army and have to submit daily to the barbarous oppression of the Nazi regime.

Even the Hitler Youth and the Association of German Girls are infected by this discontent. It is quite natural, since the youth is affected in the same way as the rest of the people by the consecutive worsening of conditions since the annexation.

The Austrians' hatred of the "Prussians" shows this attitude. There are countless examples: some time ago 15 leaders of the Austrian section of the Association of German Girls sent a letter to Governor Buerckel, asking why all the highest positions in the Association were filled by German girls; Buerckel's reply was as brutal as it was negative. Most of the women leaders resigned and some even resigned from the Association.

Reports from different parts of Austria agree in affirming that less than a third of the membership turned out for Hitler Youth demonstrations.

At their evening meetings, members of the Hitler Youth increasingly often change the prescribed programme. In one group of 40 to 50 boys, passages were to be read from *Mein Kampf* of Hitler. One of the leaders, observing the lack of

enthusiasm, suggested that it was not always possible to occupy themselves with serious things and that, for once, they might just enjoy themselves. The suggestion was welcomed with considerable feeling.

Lately, letters from Austrian soldiers in Czechoslovakia have made a very favourable effect. There is real satisfaction that the Czech youth shows such unity and such deep hatred against the German fascists. Young soldiers tell how Czech girls demonstrate by leaving a dance hall as soon as German soldiers come in, and without looking at them. As soon as soldiers who have learnt enough Czech to make themselves understood can explain that they are Austrians, or even Viennese, the Czechs become friendlier, and soon both sides are engaged in common denunciation of the German fascist intruders.

The Austrian Young Communists realise that this discontent has not yet spread among the whole of Austrian youth and that Nazi influence is still very strong among the younger boys and girls, chiefly among schoolchildren. They know, too, that there is still a wide gap between this discontent and active struggle; therefore the progressive youth of Austria has still to make enormous efforts to win over the youth to the struggle for unity with the people and above all with the working class, and to carry on this struggle successfully. National union of Austrian youth around the red-white-red flag for the liberation of Austria from the foreign imperialist yoke and for the liberty and independence of Austria—this is the fine goal for which every young Communist in Austria is ready to fight. To win over the whole of Austrian youth to this goal—that is the historic task of the Austrian Y.C.L., under the leadership of the Austrian Communist Party.



## Youth and Economic Life

### The Struggle for the Organisation of Apprenticeship

By Karl Escure

FOR more than two years now the Young Communist League of France has been conducting a vigorous and popular campaign for the organisation of apprenticeship; and this action typifies, in an excellent form, the contribution of the younger generation towards the plan of national and social reorganisation for the salvation of the country.

The problem of apprenticeship has become a national question, concerning the whole nation, since on it depend both the extension and reinforcement of its economic production and the power of its defence potential. This is the more so since the country's security does not only depend on the numerical importance of military units, but on the precision, sureness, the mastery of its industrial technique which determines the perfecting and efficiency of the military equipment of these units.

But our persistent campaign is justified by a series of other considerations, even more vital, which take into account the terrible present position of 300,000 young unemployed people, most of them without a trade and consequently without a future, a prey to idleness, despair, and all the misfortunes of life.

But these people are anxious to do their part in building society, and will do it with joy and pride.

Up to the present, all legislation on apprenticeship has been based exclusively on the stipulations of the Labour Code, which are, in their entirety, drawn up in a perfectly reactionary spirit. Actually, the first article of the Labour Code gives the following arbitrary definition of apprenticeship: "It is the contract by which an employer promises to give a methodical and complete professional knowledge to another person, who in return agrees to work for him, under conditions and for a time agreed upon."

Thus the principle of professional education in exchange for a certain work (which has considerable consequences) is established. Among the consequences are: (1) the employer is not obliged to consider a young worker as an apprentice; (2) details of the contract are not obligatory, but simply accessories of the main contract; (3) none of the existing clauses forces the employer to pay the apprentice. (Not so long ago the latter had to pay the employer.)

That is why most young apprentices in France receive neither professional nor technical education, and why they are all eventually transformed into specialised labourers, or just labourers.

Our newspaper *L'Avant-Garde* can, every week, denounce dozens of cases of sabotage by the employers or the Government. At one period it carried on a pitiless campaign against an industrialist of Arudy, in the Lower Pyrenees, a Government aircraft contractor. (M. Pomaret, now Minister of Labour, was legal adviser to the firm.)

This firm, after employing a large number of young workers on contract, forced them to work every day preparing for the production in series of 7,000 articles sold to the State at one franc 75 centimes each.

Thus the big industrialists accumulate colossal fortunes out of the exploitation of unhappy children, at the expense of the State, speculating in disgusting fashion on the needs of National Defence. It is perfectly clear that legislation like this, which encourages such monstrous operations as those we have reported, and contains no obligation for the employers really to organise apprenticeship, is incapable of supplying industry with the qualified workers it needs.

All these reasons explain the considerable response to our campaign in favour of the slogan which already has so much support among young Frenchmen: "Work and a trade for the young." The many Apprentice Conferences, organised on the initiative of the Y.C.L., will contribute enormously to the popularisation of our precise and opportune demands. They have

been held at Gentilly, Epinay-on-Seine, Issy-les-Moulineaux, Colombes, Valenciennes, Bordeaux, etc., and they have aroused a lively interest among the working population.

All have taken place in close collaboration with all the big youth organisations (Communist Youth, Socialist Youth, Young Christian Workers, etc.), who followed the discussions, and with the complete and co-ordinated support of municipal councils, trade unions, teachers, families, and the whole population. Such activities have led to the promulgation of the decree of May 24, 1938, relative to the education and compulsory professional training, which gave rise incontestably to big hopes, but also to big illusions among the young people and working-class families. This decree contains several noteworthy improvements:

It establishes, at least in principle, the obligation of employers to employ a number of apprentices in proportion to the number of adult workers (Articles 9 and 12).

It makes every young worker or employee between the age of 14 and 17 an apprentice.

The obligations it imposes concern particularly attendance at professional classes, instituted under the Astier Law of July 25, 1919, or those at private or public continuation schools.

It institutes, in each department, professional advisory bureaux, whose action will be co-ordinated by secretariats.

But this decree makes no provision for boys and girls over 17. Further, no credits are granted for the setting-up and running the advisory bureaux, and no measures are announced for fixing apprentices' salaries.

Finally, and this is a grave weakness, no serious appeal is made for the collaboration of the workers' organisation.

This decree has been in force for nearly a year, but it remains a dead letter. Our present Ministers faithfully carry out the wishes of the Two Hundred Families and of international fascism, and, consequently, are more concerned with destroying the social work of the Popular Front than with imposing on the employers the rigorous obligations that the application of a decree favourable to the working-class youth would entail.

On the contrary, the collective convention for the aircraft industry containing a special addendum on apprenticeship which guaranteed its rational organisation within the framework of each enterprise and at the employers' expense, has been denounced by the employers.

The Young Communist League decided, at its Tenth Congress, to intensify its action in view of the preparation of a great *National Apprentices' Congress of France* which will set out their essential demands, establish a draft Statute of Apprenticeship, and decide on the action to undertake in favour of the right to work and a trade.

In this year of the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the great French Revolution, our Apprentices' Congress will write a new page of action for the triumph of the great aspirations of the French youth in the glorious traditions which thus are continued.

Those aspirations are: the right to work, the right to a trade, the right to social progress in happiness and peace.

### THE SERB NATIONALIST ORGANISATION RALLIES TO THE PLATFORM OF YOUTH

Belgrade, May 10.

The *Narodna Obrana* is a great Serb nationalist organisation, most of whose members are recruited from the high society and from the officers' class. Their monarchist views are notorious. They published the following statement on the action of the students:

"The students have said: 'We wish to contribute towards the maintenance of our national independence; we want a free Yugoslavia!' Certainly, ideological differences exist between ourselves and the initiators of this great youth movement. But this is also our programme, and we are in agreement with them in this guiding idea."

The Yugoslav youth movement is well known for its Left sympathies.



## From the Activity of the Youth Organisations

### The New Leadership of the French Y.C.L.

THE Xth Congress of the Young Communist League of France, remarkable for the spirit of youth, courage and hope which pervaded all its work, took important decisions with regard to the League's leadership.

Reviewing the series of changes which, especially since 1936, have made possible a considerable rejuvenation in the ranks of the League and its militants, Congress declared itself in favour of bold modifications in the composition of the national leadership. If the League has always had to play the role of school of Communism and of providing the Party's reserve forces, this role has grown with the development of the League.

Thus the Xth Congress has marked a stage characterised by the passing of several Y.C.L. leaders into Party work.

With reference to this, here is the declaration Jacques Duclos, secretary of the French Communist Party, made to the Congress:

"Before you elect your national committee, I want to greet those who, having worked among the Young Communists for several years, after having served the cause of Communism in your League, are going to make way for younger comrades and are going to take their place in the struggle inside our great Communist Party.

"Such is the case of our comrade, Michaut, whose report on the history of the Bolshevik Party you have applauded; and such is the case of our Comrade Granjon, Comrade Lechaux, Comrade Ternet, Comrade Chaumeil, Comrade Duguet, Comrade Tollet, and Comrade Hemmen.

"But if these comrades leave your organisation, making way for younger comrades, it is understood that we shall all continue together in the struggle, under the folds of the same flag.

"This flag is that of the liberator, Communism."

Inspired by the valuable words of Stalin, recommending the promotion of new comrades in good time and with a bold spirit, the formation of new cadres, not leaving them too long in the one place, not letting them become rusty, and recalling that "what is most important of all is to educate new, young cadres boldly and in time," the Young Communist League, at its Xth Congress has carried out a radical renewal of its leadership and placed in the most responsible positions those tested militants of the young who possess a sense of the new and a sense of action.

Under the leadership of Raymond Guyot, President of the League and General Secretary of the Young Communist International, known to all for his courageous and clear-sighted activity at the head of progressive youth, there are now working Comrades Victor Joannès, Andre Leroy, Baynac, secretaries, and Casteur, Dorland, Escure, Latarget, Malterre, Richard, members of the Bureau—all unanimously nominated by the National Committee elected at the Xth Congress. The Young Communists of France, confident in their leadership, devoted body and soul to the great Communist Party and its leader Maurice Thorez, are, without a doubt, forging ahead towards new successes.

## The Congress of the French Workers' Sports Federation

By Auguste Delaune

THE Workers' Sports and Gymnastic Federation has just held its National Congress.

For two days, about 500 delegates examined the different problems before them. One of the most important problems for the French sports movement, that of reorganising sport, was discussed; another, no less important, was that of joint meetings with other federations, and the possibility of sportsmen holding a double licence and double affiliation.

First of all, we must mention the fact that great efforts have been made for some time to draw together French sportsmen; on this point, we can recall the different proposals made by the direction of the W.S.G.F., proposals which would have allowed the very rapid organisation of a single, national Championship for all branches of sport. To this end, the Federation asked that a co-ordinating committee of all the sports federations be set up in order to develop these proposals.

The suggestions were not all discreet, and after long discussions between the leaders of the workers' sports movement and that of the official movement, together with the Minister of Education, it was decided to organise a single athletic Championship on a national scale. In order that they might participate in this, French athletes would have to hold a special card issued by the French Athletic Federation. This will greatly facilitate the organisation of such a championship in which all French athletes would take part.

The decision taken shows clearly the current popular feeling that exists in France for a drawing together of sportsmen in the interests of the general development of sport.

At the present moment, the problem of the reorganisation of French sport is under discussion. The W.S.G.F. have been asked to comment on a plan of reorganisation which has been approved by a number of leading French sportsmen at an informal gathering especially organised by the sports Press. The great French sports daily, *L'Auto*, has realised that the proposals made by the workers' leaders can make possible the physical development of the youth, and, moreover, can bring about an important unification of sports activities in France.

Before the Congress, certain newspapers, in writing of the proposals for rapprochement of sportsmen, said they meant a policy of agreement with all other federations, while the question of double licence and affiliation might lead—as they hoped—to a split in the workers' sports movement.

Very fortunately, the unity of the workers' sports movement has not been at all shaken. On the contrary, the discussions at the Fifth Congress have reaffirmed, once again, the desire of all the members of the W.S.G.F. for a closer unity and for a concentration of all their forces in order to bring about the physical improvement of the youth.

Yes, quite a lot of noise was made over certain divergencies of opinion which might exist within this great sports organisation of the people; but sportsmen are understanding people. If the discussion was heated, it was always comradely. All sought the best possible solutions in order to carry forward the work of this vast organisation, the Workers' Sports and Gymnastic Federation.

There was a unanimous expression of the will of all the delegates that everything possible should be done to bring about closer relations between sportsmen, and to break down the barriers which still stood in the way. The resolution voted at the Congress shows that they know how to follow up their work in favour of communal sports demonstrations.

The resolution said: "We will not oppose in any way the affiliation and licencing of members or clubs of other federations to the W.S.G.F." Thus, all societies belonging to the official federations can affiliate to the W.S.G.F. even while staying in their own federation.

The resolution goes on to state that the membership of the official federation should not be the exception among the clubs and members of the W.S.G.F. Indeed, in those places where



the workers' sports movement has not grown very considerably, the national and regional organisations can authorise those societies to become part of the official federations.

The Congress discussions showed that this unity is the essential factor in the upward movement of the W.S.G.F., and that it must be reinforced.

The delegates understood this very well, and justly condemned all those who, before the Congress, had tried to make a split in the great people's sports organisation.

The discussions were comradely, and the delegates returned to their respective districts with the clear feeling that nothing could stop the advance of this federation, which already comprises more than 2,000 groups with 160,000 members in the country. They took also a series of recommendations on how to widen the joint action of all sportsmen in order to obtain sports grounds and better travelling facilities.

The Congress of the Workers' Sports and Gymnastic Federation was a working congress; the resolutions passed are the guarantee of new successes. In this way, the advance of the whole sports movement is assured.

## Six-Point Programme for American Youth

New York, May 19.

**D**EDICATING its efforts to "achievements in unity of the young generation of labour and of the common people," the *Young Communist League of the United States*, at its *Ninth Annual Convention* just concluded here, adopted a new preamble to its national constitution.

This preamble lays down as the League's most important aims:

1. Education of youth for citizenship in our democracy and for active participation in the labour and progressive movement.
2. The building of a fraternal fellowship with the youth of all lands to fight for peace and freedom against fascism, oppression and tyranny.
3. The struggle to assure the security and safeguard of the American home and family through opportunities for work, education and recreation to all in farm and in city.
4. Defence of civil liberties, religious freedom and equal rights for all nationalities and peoples, and condemnation of all concepts of race or national superiority.
5. Enlightenment of youth by thorough study of humanity's heritage of science and culture.
6. Promotion of clean living to develop healthy minds in healthy bodies.

With great enthusiasm and unanimity, the 650 delegates from 500 branches and clubs of the Y.C.L. welcomed this six-point programme, and elected their new officers and national committee members.

Organising Secretary *Henry Winston* reported that membership has grown since the Eighth Convention two years ago. Now there are Y.C.L. organisations in 25 States instead of only in 16. Composition of the membership has also undergone a great change, he said, the majority to-day being non-party. The League has grown in cities of basic industries, but not enough, since only 5 per cent. of the whole membership is in these industries.

Greetings were sent to *Juan Negrin* in a resolution welcoming him to the United States, expressing gratitude to him and to the people of Spain for their glorious sacrifice and example of courage in the fight against fascism.

Another resolution pledged the League to work for complete solidarity of the western hemisphere and the extension of economic agreements between the U.S.A. and other nations of America. Delegates sent greetings to the youth of the Soviet Union, already building the world of to-morrow, and pledged themselves to work for fullest co-operation between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

Messages of unity were sent from convention to the American Federation of Labour, the Congress of Industrial Organisation, and the Railroad Brotherhoods.

## From the Two Hemispheres

### Victorious Counter-Offensive of Chinese Armies

By James Gordon

**T**HE Chinese military victories of recent weeks have struck a heavy blow at the fascist Berlin-Rome-Tokio axis and have struck a heavy blow equally at the reactionary forces of capitulation in the democratic countries, that preach that "appeasement" and "reconciliation" are the only means of opposing fascist aggression throughout the world. These victories have shown that the unity and courageous resistance of the Chinese people can defeat Japanese militarism, despite tremendous inferiority of arms. They have proved, too, the justice of the tactics pursued by the Chinese military leaders.

Since the beginning of the war the Japanese had advanced inwards from the coastal regions, and had developed their advance in North, South and Central China. Following their plans of "protracted warfare," the Chinese military authorities had aimed to attract the Japanese forces towards the interior of their country, to lengthen the front of military operations to a maximum, and by a combination of regular and partisan soldiers, with an organised population, to surround the Japanese armies, exhaust them, and destroy them.

Since the beginning of April, the Chinese armies have turned from defensive to offensive actions. *The most important factor of the recent victorious Chinese counter-offensive is that it has been developed simultaneously on all fronts*, and, thus, using to the full the great numerical advantage and reserves in manpower of the Chinese armies, they have prevented the Japanese from concentrating their forces on any single front. At the same time, avoiding any false underestimation of the strength of their enemy, the Chinese military authorities continue to develop their forces of resistance, and are preparing a formidable army capable of finally driving out the Japanese aggressors. A National Conference, convened by the National Military Council at the beginning of April, decided on a period of obligatory military training for all male citizens between the ages of 18-45.

The counter-offensive has been victorious on all fronts. In the South, in Kwangtung province, the capital city of Canton is surrounded by Chinese troops. Chinese troops recaptured Tsengshing, a strategically important town to the East of Canton, and have now formed a closed circle around the city, in some places only a few kilometres distant from the Canton suburbs. On April 14, Chinese guerillas entered Canton and destroyed the aerodrome and its hangars on the north-east of the city. Only about 150,000 Chinese citizens from over a million remained in Canton after its fall, but to-day tens of thousands of these remaining citizens are escaping from the city and helping the Chinese soldiers to dig trenches and destroy roads. Japanese reinforcements are being rushed by river to Canton, but its situation is critical.

On the Central Chinese front the success of the counter-offensive has been even more complete, extending through the four provinces of Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi and Honan. During the first three months of 1939 the Japanese lost 12,000 soldiers in Hupeh, south Honan and north of the Yangtse. After the capture of Nanchang, capital of Kiangsi, the Japanese forces were exhausted. They rapidly lost the strategic town of Kao-An to the Chinese troops, and from that time onwards the Chinese armies marched victoriously onwards towards Nanchang. After a series of successes in northern Kiangsi, the Chinese armies converged on Nanchang at the beginning of May, and by May 7 had re-entered the suburbs and recaptured the aerodrome. In Hupeh the Chinese forces have recaptured Tungshan, a strategically important town, and are attacking Yochow on the Hupeh-Hunan frontier. Further North in Honan, the Chinese troops are advancing along the *Lanchow railway*, on which traffic has been suspended since April 2. On April 11, Chinese guerilla troops secretly entered the important city of Kaifeng by the south gate and executed several of the puppet governors. To-day the city of Kaifeng is surrounded by Chinese troops.



On the Northern front, above all in Shansi province, the Chinese counter-offensive develops with equal success. During the first fortnight in April, important Chinese advances in southern Shansi succeeded in dislodging the Japanese from the *Chungtiao heights*. In this advance the Chinese aviation played an important role, and also in the bombardment of the arsenal at Taiyuan, which is the seat of the puppet government in Shansi province. General Chu-Deh, commander-in-chief of the 8th Route Army, declared—

"that the Japanese are unable to consolidate their position in North China. All the lines of communication and the cities occupied by the enemy are the centres of battle of the regular Chinese forces in collaboration with partisans."

To-day in Shansi province, out of 105 districts (Hsien) only three have lost contact with the regular Chinese Government authorities; and in the neighbouring province of Hopei, the first province to be "occupied" by the Japanese in July 1937, only two out of 129 districts (Hsien) are completely occupied by the Japanese, and about 40 partially.

Thus in the last weeks the Japanese offensive has been arrested on all fronts. . . . The encirclement of Canton has stopped the advance through Kwantung to Kwangsi. The capture of Kao-An and advance on Nanchang has stopped the advance which had been planned into Hunan province. The counter-offensive of the Chinese armies in Shansi have dashed to the ground the long-desired advance of the Japanese over the Yellow River into Shensi province and into the territory of the Border Region. The counter-offensive has not only held up the Japanese advance, but caused very severe losses to the Japanese militarists and severely damaged the morale of their armies.

During the first fortnight of April, Chinese forces fought 323 battles on all fronts and killed 22,000 Japanese soldiers. During the second fortnight, they fought 504 battles and killed 32,000 Japanese soldiers and officers. From Kiangsi province, 15,000 wounded Japanese soldiers have been transported to Shanghai, another 15,000 from Kwantung, and the Shanghai hospitals contain more than 60,000 Japanese wounded. Since the beginning of the counter-offensive more than 70 towns in 11 provinces have been recaptured. Latest statistics show that out of 945 districts in 11 so-called "occupied" provinces, 572 (59 per cent) are completely under Chinese control and only 72 (8 per cent) completely under Japanese control. The difficulties of Japanese militarism grow daily.

At the same time as these growing military difficulties, Japanese militarism is making ever greater economic, political and diplomatic difficulties. The other partners of the anti-Comintern axis look upon their Eastern partner with ever-growing scepticism. Nazi military experts have long considered the Japanese aims of conquest of China as extremely dangerous, and to-day they demand from the Japanese militarists a policy of extreme caution in China, and that they concentrate their attacks on the Western democratic powers. Hence the increasing Japanese impudence in the international concessions at Tientsin and Shanghai, and hence also the invasion of Hainan, measures aimed at Great Britain and France rather than China. Hence also within Japan an increasing discontent with their axis allies.

In contrast, the Chinese Government draws increasingly closer to the democratic powers, and within China itself democracy develops and strengthens the resistance. General Chiang Kai Shek declared in a recent broadcast from Chungking:

"We must believe fervently in the Three Peoples' Principles. The Republic that will be established after the victory of China will be a new state, a government of the people, for the people and by the people, a very progressive state, which will contribute to the welfare of the whole of humanity."

Important measures have been taken for the democratisation of the government. Faced with the successful Chinese resistance, the Japanese militarists have taken their revenge by the massacre of civilians, and at the beginning of May the savage bombardment of open cities was resumed. At Chungking there were 5,000 victims after a single air raid.

The Chinese counter-offensive has brought new evidence of the courage of the Chinese youth, both at the front and behind the lines. Despite the cruelty of the war, education continues. The youth is organising the whole nation to fight illiteracy. In Kwangsi province, bombardments are so severe that education is continued in caves dug in the mountains. The slogan has been launched: "Let every mountain become a class-room and let the sound of the air-alarm siren be taken as the sound of the class-room bell!" There is news, too, from Kang-Da, the anti-Japanese University in the Border Region. Kang-Da has grown from 4,000 to 12,000 students. Two new branches have been formed in the Hopei-Chahar-Shansi Border Region behind the Japanese lines. Seven thousand students were successfully smuggled through the Japanese lines to reach these new Universities.

The courage and unity of the Chinese youth has had a powerful influence on the youth of Japan, including the young soldiers in the forces of invasion. Three young Japanese soldiers, Akada, Kobayashi and Sugimoto, recently joined the 19th Route Chinese Army. One of them, Akada, has written a song that expresses the feelings of thousands of young Japanese that have been sent out to China in the armies of invasion:

"One year has lapsed, and the horrible war continues its bloody course. The expedition has no end, and our comrades die incessantly, day after day. Who can foretell our future? Day and night we sink into deep misery."

"Where is the Celestial Empire and the promised paradise? It is merely a lie of our despotic governors. See! Manchuria has given us proof!"

"From late autumn to winter, in extreme cold, our people undergo many hardships. This is the disastrous result of an aggressive war. Rise up, comrades! There is no other issue before us, but to achieve an honourable peace!"

"Rise up, fellow-companions! In order to gain true happiness and to achieve a free and just society, we must destroy the Japanese militarists. The construction of a new Japan will begin on the morrow."

This song is called *Building a New Japan*, and it shows how the youth of China and Japan will build up a new order in the Far East, based on liberty and justice and peace, through the defeat of fascism.

## Consequences of the War for Working People of Japan

Tokio, April 15.

THE longer the war goes on, the more ruin it causes to Japan's agriculture and economy. The working people of Japan, already kept in deepest poverty before the war, are now deprived of everything: food, clothing, coal, etc. . . . And with police terror reigning, discontent is growing.

Mobilisation of the men has resulted in a shortage of labour-power in the fields; further, the harvests were very poor in 1938—that of rice in particular—and rice, of course, is the staple food of the poorer classes of Japan.

Silk production fell from 252 million yen in 1937 to 150 million in 1938; many peasants, ruined, have had to give up silk production; most of them have joined the ranks of the unemployed.

Fishing has become extremely precarious, as a result not only of the shortage of labour, but also of restrictions in the use of coal, ropes and engines of all kinds. Thus the herring catch for Hokkaido Island, which used to be 64,000 tons every autumn, was only 22,800 tons in 1938. This falling off in fish production has its effects on agriculture, for the cattle food most widely used in Japan has a fish base.



This general diminution in the country's production has naturally resulted in decline of consumption. The purchasing power of the working classes is very low, and these restrictions are in the main self-imposed. But there is such a shortage of certain products, and they have been so wasted in the war of aggression against China, that the Government has issued all sorts of decrees to limit their consumption by the civilian population.

The Japanese Government has passed a decree by virtue of which women must wear extremely short dresses (when a whole country has been transformed into a fascist barracks, then everybody is regimented!) It is strictly forbidden to make cotton articles for the needs of the population. Cotton must be replaced by substitutes. Woollen goods are out of the question: more than one-third of the power frames used in the manufacture of woollen goods have been abandoned owing to shortage of hands. Silk production is likewise falling from month to month.

Not without cause does the famous "League for the Mobilisation of the Popular Will" founded by General Haraki and other Japanese militarists, strive to make the national costume disappear: too much cloth is needed for the kimono!

Leather is entirely reserved for the needs of the army: no more cases, hand-bags, gloves, wallets, leather belts. The population has been forced to go back to the "ghetta" (wooden shoes) and "Dzori" (bast sandals). In a number of districts it is strictly forbidden by the police for school-children to appear in leather shoes: children even have official "authorisation" to go to school with bare feet, for the Government does not want to give up foreign exchange for leather imports, and the national production of wood and bast is not enough to provide everybody with "ghetta" or "dzori" to put on their feet.

It is likewise forbidden to manufacture rubber shoes; the use of rubber is banned for 23 other articles as well. Raw materials are lacking and there are not enough synthetic rubber factories. Waterproof coats, for instance, have completely disappeared.

As leather and rubber are necessary for sports equipment, the whole athletic goods industry has died out, and even the pursuit of sport is declining.

A great deal of metal is needed in modern warfare, and Japan is short of it. Special groups of police go from house to house demanding from the women their casseroles, cutlery, even letter-boxes. Copper and nickel money has completely disappeared from circulation; forks are made of porcelain. (Mind they don't break!)

Heating in the home is considered "unnecessary" and no more coal is sold. Petrol consumption is strictly controlled. There is a shortage of cellulose and wood as well: this makes it necessary to reduce the number of pages in the newspapers and periodicals. The amount of wood in matches has been cut down by half, so that it is difficult not to burn one's fingers with them.

"Patriotism changes the colour of cigarette-smoke." So declared the Japanese military clique in throwing soya leaves on the market instead of tobacco. This beautiful slogan was certainly needed to get the Japanese to accept such a vile tobacco substitute.

All this, which must be added to considerable losses at the front in China, gives rise to discontent and profound hatred of war. Revolts are becoming more and more frequent in the army, while there are increasing conflicts in the industrial concerns and the villages.

It is reported from Kobe that women who went to the station to see their husbands off for China demonstrated with shouts of "Down with war!"

#### NOTICE

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## The Young Socialist Guards Will Remain United

By P. Bosson

SCARCELY had the majority of the national committee of the Young Socialist Guard taken the iniquitous decision to remove the leadership of the Brussels Federation of the Y.S.G., when the fascists exulted. They should have waited.

The *Pourri Reel* makes a great headline show of it and writes of "the rebellion of the youth against the B.L.P." (Belgian Labour Party) and "the division of the Y.S.G."

I remember the disappointment of this same *Pourri Reel* after the unity demonstrations at Louvain in August, 1936. It breathed forth rage then, to see the Young Socialists and Communists marching fraternally side by side. It was a victory for unity and the fascists were furious.

But scarcely has some division been created before fascism bristles again and purrs its delight. Perhaps this fascist delight may open the eyes of socialists who allow themselves to be taken in tow by socialist-nationalist disruptionists. Disruption profits none but fascism and reaction; at a time when efforts must be redoubled to win youth to the side of the working class, the workers are not going to tolerate disruptionist manoeuvres against the Y.S.G.

But the fascists rejoiced too soon!

The adversaries of unity may raise countless difficulties in the way of youth and endanger youth's very organisations: that cannot be denied. On the contrary.

But to draw from these facts the conclusion that youth is rebelling against the Belgian Labour Party is *wrong*!

And to draw the second conclusion that youth is going to permit disruption is *also wrong*!

We find the proof in the attitude recently adopted by the Y.S.G. of Brussels region.

Once more, enthusiastic and burning with confidence, they met to discuss the attacks directed against them. They were unanimous. Determined to win. Determined to remain united. In spite of everything. . . .

They were unanimous in declaring their loyalty to the B.L.P. and their determination to remain united with all the Young Socialists of the country within the ranks of the national federation of the Young Socialist Guard.

What a lesson they gave to the Rex fascists! What a lesson, too, for those who shrink at nothing in their miserable work of disruption.

The Brussels Y.S.G. remains united, grouped around its leaders whom it has elected democratically and who alone have the right to resign their office.

There is no doubt that the Young Socialist Guard throughout the country will take the same attitude as their Brussels comrades and will uphold their action to save the unity of the Y.S.G. movement to win the youth for socialism.

Thus the Y.S.G. will come out of this struggle reinforced in unity. But for that it is necessary that the workers express their solidarity with the youth. And youth must join the Y.S.G. movement *en masse*.

The youth campaign for unity is inseparable from the campaign for unity of the working class. It is because our Party fights untiringly for working-class unity that it supports the struggle of the youth. This struggle is not directed against the Belgian Labour Party, but is on behalf of the Belgian Labour Party, for its revival, that it may be rid of fascist agents and those who are ready to violate the sovereign decisions of a congress in order to recommence their odious collaboration with such as Gutt, d'Aspremon-Lynden, Sap von Siemens.

Youth will conquer. The youth will remain united. And that will be a victory not against the Belgian Labour Party but against fascism.



## World Students' Conference on the Colonial Problem

By James Gordon

ON April 11-13 an important *Student Conference*, organised by the *World Student Association* (*Rassemblement Mondial des Etudiants*), was held in *Paris* on the *Colonial Problem*. The agenda included discussions on (1) the colonial problem and the defence of peace; (2) the life and activities of the youth and students in the colonial countries; (3) the co-operation of the students of the colonial countries with those of the Western democracies for liberty, democracy, culture and peace.

Most of the important organisations of the colonial and dependent countries, representing hundreds of thousands of students, sent their delegations to the Conference, including the *All-Indian Students' Federation*, *Federation of Indian Student Societies in Europe*, *All Burma Students' Union*, *Permimpunan Indonesia*, *Arab Students' League of Palestine*, and delegates from Ceylon, Syria and Tunis. Side by side with them were the delegates from *France*, *Great Britain*, *Belgium* and the *United States*. The British delegation was especially representative, including delegates from the *National Union of Students*, *British Universities' League of Nations Societies*, *University Labour Federation*, etc. In all, 15 countries were represented at the Conference.

At the end of the sessions the Conference voted a number of important resolutions. A resolution on racialism was passed which

"declares its complete support for the principles of absolute equality of rights of all races, peoples and nations; categorically rejects all theories of superiority of one race over another, obscurantist theories proved absurd by science, and condemns with indignation every effort to carry out racial persecutions and to stir up one race against another; declares its firm determination to combat all such racial theories and to combat equally all measures of racial discrimination; and calls upon the students of all races and all nations to unite in the struggle for liberty, democracy, culture and peace."

Two unanimous resolutions condemned indignantly the invasions of Italian and Japanese fascism in Albania and China, and promised full solidarity to the Albanian and Chinese peoples. Further resolutions urged the ratification of the Franco-Syrian Treaty, so that the Syrian people could freely co-operate with the French people in the defence of democracy.

During the sessions the reports showed the important student associations that have grown up in recent years, uniting all sections of the students for the defence of the academic rights and interests, for educational reform and combating illiteracy, and which link up the student activities with the struggles of their people as a whole. But above all the reports showed the persistent fascist propaganda carried on by agents of Hitler, Mussolini and Japanese militarism within the colonial schools and universities. The reports exposed the demagogic arguments used by this fascist propaganda, and also the hundreds of thousands of dollars spent on buying press, and radio, on organising free tours and visits to the totalitarian countries, on granting scholarships, reductions of fees and voyage-fares to all colonial students.

But the reports showed at the same time that despite the vast efforts of fascist propaganda amongst the colonial youth, the large majority of colonial youth and students understood the true character of fascism, and saw in fascism the force that propagates racial theories, incites one race against another, that massacres civilian populations, destroys the independence of nations, and understood that far from being the liberator of the colonial people as it pretends, fascism is the main menace to the rights and liberties of the colonial peoples themselves. The delegates pointed to Czechoslovakia, Austria, Tripoli, Abyssinia and Korea to show how fascism destroys every liberty and right of the peoples that it seeks to colonise.

The proposal of the metropolitan delegates to undertake an important campaign in their universities for academic rights, full democratic and civil liberties for the people and youth of the colonial countries, was warmly welcomed. The delegates of the colonial and metropolitan countries worked out together a

concrete plan for future co-operation, through exchange of Press and delegations, further conferences, joint campaigns against racialism, against illiteracy, joint activities against aggression, for peace and for democracy. They decided to work together to prepare the *Third World Students' Conference* on "Democracy and Nation" that will be held at *Nice* this summer.

This Conference, by laying a basis for co-operation between the students of both colonial and metropolitan countries, against their common enemy, fascism, and by increasing the sympathy for the struggles of the colonial peoples within the universities of the Western democracies, has contributed greatly towards the union of the younger generation within the universities. The tactic of fascism is to divide the forces of its opponents—fascism seeks to divide the youth and students within the democracies, to divide the colonial youth on racial and communal bases, and, above all, to divide the colonial youth from their natural ally, the progressive youth of the metropolitan countries. This Conference, by its contribution towards the union of the youth for democracy and peace, is a blow against fascism and its propaganda in the colonies.

## In the Country of Socialism

### Soviet Students

IN the 150 university centres of the U.S.S.R., where there are 700 higher education departments, 601,000 people are studying which is 100,000 more than in the whole of the 23 capitalist countries of Europe. During 1938 alone 166,000 new students were admitted to the Soviet higher school institutions, which is twice as many as the total number of students in all the French universities.

That is not all. In the Soviet Union, out of every 1,000 people, 268 are learning something or other in some or other school. These 42½ million men—more people than there are in France—work to improve their education.

It is understandable that higher education takes on so great an importance in the U.S.S.R. It is very interesting to know how Soviet students become students, how they study and how they live.

Neither age nor race nor nationality is an obstacle to study. Instead of being reserved for the sons of the big bourgeoisie as in Tsarist Russia, higher education is now open to the sons of all the workers.

In Tsarist Russia more than one-third of the students were sons of nobles or State officials; 11 per cent were sons of traders or industrialists; 15 per cent were sons of rich cossacks and kulaks. Those who came from "the other classes"—that is to say, sons of workers and peasants—represented only 3 per cent.

At the present time students at universities in the U.S.S.R. are sons of people who work. In 1938, 42.8 per cent were sons of workers, 27.6 per cent were sons of office workers, and about 20 per cent sons of collective farmers.

In Tsarist Russia students from the national minorities were few. To-day at Moscow University alone representatives of 48 nationalities, constituting 32.5 per cent of the total, are to be found studying.

In fact, "all citizens between the ages of 17 and 35, having an ordinary school certificate, whatever their social origin, sex, race or nationality, enjoy the right of admission to higher schools and of studying there free."

Under Tsarism, girls were practically barred from the universities. At the present time they form 43.1 per cent of the students in the Soviet Union. 68.5 per cent of the students in Medical Faculties are girls, 49.2 per cent in law, 28.6 per cent in Industrial Institutes, and 28 per cent in agriculture.

For pupils about to leave school the question of what profession to choose has naturally to be considered. In the Soviet Union everything is interesting and everything is accessible for the people needs specialists in the most diverse fields.

Professional guidance plays an important role in this sphere. Before the final examinations, students from the different universities go to the schools for friendly discussions with the future students of their speciality. Then professors, academicians and laboratory workers also visit the schools to conduct conferences and to give talks which are always very attentively followed on the



respective merits of their particular science. They invite the pupils to visit their laboratories, and offices. Thus the pupils can, taking into account the advice of their own teachers, choose that branch which seems to them the most interesting.

The Soviet State pays 89 per cent of the students an allowance each month—a sort of salary in exchange for the work the student is doing. State grants for this purpose increased from 388 million roubles in 1934 to 801 million in 1938. In each school it is the director who, in accordance with the Soviet Government's regulations, decides which students shall receive an allowance. The number of those who live at their family's expense is extremely small, 11 per cent. Here is an example: in 1908 the expenditure of Petrograd University was 946,550 roubles, of which 424,971 came from the Government. In 1938 the budget of Leningrad University was 30,000,000 roubles, all of which came from the State.

While they are studying, Soviet students have collective living quarters. Three or four share a room. Each room is cleaned and is supplied with a radio. For his lodgings, including service, the students only pays 7 per cent of his allowance.

That means that this allowance is amply sufficient for the student's needs—including the purchase of books and provision for holidays. There are restaurants and buffets in the universities. The collective living quarters have a hairdressing saloon, laundry, repair shop, baths, crèches, kindergarten, clubs and Red Corners.

Married students have special apartments. They receive an additional allowance. Children go to the crèches and kindergarten. Everything is done to allow student mothers to continue their studies.

The daily work of the students is regulated according to a time-table, which is worked out for each Faculty in each university. Compulsory duties (lectures, practical exercises) take up about 6 hours a day, from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m.

The lectures take up 45 to 50 per cent of the study time. The rest of the time is devoted to work in the laboratory and the seminary. After this the students study individually, take part in the activity of scientific circles and consult their professors.

The students have their trade union committees, Party committees and Young Communist League committees. They are represented in the Study Management Committees of the Universities and Faculties, in the Management Councils together with the Rectors, in the control of various Chairs, etc. . . . There is a Central Students' Bureau in the Central Trade Union Council of the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet Government collaborates with the student organisations. It considers they have a big role to carry out. "It is necessary that the student organisations should make themselves felt more when it is necessary," *Molotov* told the first conference of higher education workers on May 15, 1938, in approving the report of Student Makarova.

Soviet students form an important section of this new Soviet intelligentsia which Comrade *Stalin* was able to praise at the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

If in 1928 it was for the working class a question of creating its own intelligentsia, of acquiring science, to-day it may be said that the Soviet people has produced the new intelligentsia from within itself and has given it first place in its creative activity. To-day the intelligentsia is the salt of the Soviet earth; every day new men go into its ranks: workers, peasants, sons of the people who in other lands can only rise in extremely rare cases; for the first time in history these intellectuals serve only the people.

With this result *Stalin* could say: "We have now a new popular socialist and numerous intelligentsia which differs profoundly from the old bourgeois intelligentsia as much by its composition as by its social and political physiognomy."

And, in fact, the Soviet intelligentsia is not a handful of chosen people, it is a powerful army. It will be still more numerous and still more powerful at the end of the third Five-Year Plan, since on the one hand the number of students will have reached 650,000, and on the other hand a series of new improvements will have been made in the sphere of higher education.

## New Red Army Commanders Graduate from Military Academy

**R**EADY to take up responsible positions in the Red Army, commanders, commissars, doctors, army engineers, airmen, artillery men, tank unit commanders—2143 graduates of an advanced course at the military academy of the Soviet Union attended an official reception given in their honour at the Kremlin on May 7. *Stalin*, *Molotov*, *Voroshilov*, *Kalinin*, *Andreyev*, *Zhdanov*, *Mikoyan* and other members of the Communist Party and of the Soviet Government attended the reception.

Since the beginning of Soviet power the Bolshevik Party has worked energetically and successfully for the formation of a staff of commanders who have risen from the ranks of the working people. The Tsarist officers formed a privileged caste which was closed to the workers and poor peasants. The officer cadres comprised 54 per cent. from the aristocracy, 13.4 per cent. from titled citizens, 3.6 per cent. from the clergy, 3.3 per cent. from big merchants and 24.9 per cent. from various sections of the population.

In the fire of civil war the revolutionary government promoted new cadres of commanders. Civil war was, as stated by *Voroshilov*, the main professor and instructor of the military art of our Bolshevik cadres. The Red Army knew how to forge from its ranks military leaders of a new type. The formation of these cadres was one of the first victories of the Red Army over all the enemies of Soviet power. The capitalist world was able to convince itself once more that the Soviet Union not only possesses the most up-to-date military technique of the world, but also the best people mastering this technique. In the hands of Soviet fighters, led by the Soviet commanders, military technique accomplished miracles and will do so in the future.

The Soviet people want peace and appreciates its great benefit; but, as *Voroshilov* declared in his address on May 1, 1939, it knows how to conduct war.

## Creating the Second Baku

By *N. Baibakov*, Chief of Petrol Extraction of the Eastern Regions of the U.S.S.R.

**O**NE of the deformities in the distribution of productive forces in tsarist Russia was that oil was only produced in one single region—the Caucasus. Now, both the geologists and the capitalists of Russia knew that oil could be found in other regions, nearer to the centre of the country than the Caucasus.

To Soviet geologists must be attributed the credit for the radical reform there has been in the petrol map of the Soviet land. It is now established that the very rich oil deposits of *Azerbaijan* only constitute 29 per cent of the oil reserves of the whole U.S.S.R. The other 71 per cent are in other regions, among which an important place has to be attributed to the regions between the southern and western slopes of the Urals and the Volga. Nevertheless Soviet *Azerbaijan* (Baku) has supplied up till now 74.5 per cent of the total oil output in the U.S.S.R. Up to the present time Baku oil is still transported thousands of miles, despite the fact that there are oil-fields in many eastern regions and in the Volga region.

As long ago as the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in January, 1934, *Stalin* had drawn attention to the need for "tackling seriously the problem of organising a petrol base in the sectors situated on the western and southern slopes of the Ural mountain chain." The five years that have passed have seen the development of the second oil-field, which is, to a great extent, due to Soviet geologists.

The banks of the Volga and its powerful tributary, the *Kama*, have been explored. But it did not stop there, and, in the course of the Second Five-Year Plan exploitation of the reserves that had been discovered began. This was the beginning of the creation of the powerful petrol base between the Urals and the Volga, a base which in the next few years will occupy a position of honour, will become the "Second Baku" of the U.S.S.R.

If, in 1933, the total petrol production in this sector was only 34,000 tons, in 1938 1,300,000 tons had already been ex-



tracted. In 1942 petrol production in the region between the Volga and the Urals will reach seven million tons—a sevenfold increase compared with the last year of the Second Five-Year Plan. These plans are justified by the findings of prospectors. Reserves of petrol already explored to-day amount to 156 million tons. Probable reserves are 1,500,000,000 tons.

In conformity with these plans for petrol extraction in the "Second Baku" zone, a great construction work, to cost about two milliard roubles, is commencing. In one or two years dozens of modern mechanised enterprises will work there.

Twenty-eight machine workshops are being built; ten depots for boring machinery; a network of roads extending 500 kilometres. Further, a system of pipe-lines to take the oil to the refineries is projected. The pipe-line is the best, least costly method of transporting petrol. It will help to relieve congestion of the railways. Pipe-lines linking a series of oil-fields in Soviet Bashkiria—main territory of the "Second Baku"—are already under construction, and stretch for hundreds of kilometres. The pipe-line for the petrol of Ichimbayevo—one of the richest oil-fields—is 600 kilometres long.

Side by side with this construction of an industrial character there is, as always in the Soviet Union, a tremendous building of dwelling houses, clubs, creches, dispensaries, cinemas, theatres and hospitals.

The "Second Baku" is arising in the Volga region where already construction work has begun on the "Great Volga," which will be one of the most important works of the Third Five-Year Plan, the greatest electricity centre in the world. This will allow the utilisation of electric energy in the greatest measure for the needs of the "Second Baku." On the other hand, petrol from the new workings, close to millions of hectares of collective farm fields, irrigated by the hydraulic centres of the "Great Volga" will serve as fuel for the thousands of tractors and combine-harvesters of the collective and State farms of the Volga regions.

The "Second Baku" will be the work of the whole Soviet land. The country in its entirety is ensuring its construction. The country is giving to the "Second Baku" machinery and construction material and men—engineers, technicians, workers, inspired by a sole desire—anxious to show themselves equal to the tasks that are assigned to them.

From now on there will be seen an immense enthusiasm among the oil workers of this new region. The daily production for the present year exceeds the average of last December by about 2,000 tons. The workers of the "Second Baku" are striving to surpass the plan for 1939—which laid down a petrol production of two million tons.

The "Second Baku" will be created.

## Newspapers in the Lake Hassan Combats

By A. Baiev (Regimental Commissar)

IN August, 1938, the Japanese military clique tried to test the power and the fighting ability of the Red Army. The Japanese sent several divisions against the frontier of the Soviet Union and seized the Changkufeng and Besimianaya heights in the Lake Hassan sector.

By a crushing blow the Red Army routed the insolent Samurai and drove them from Soviet territory. In the battles for the defence of the Socialist Fatherland a new fighting Press of the Red Army was born.

Regiment N is in the dug-outs. While the artillery and the aviation are being prepared for action the combatants are completing their preparations for the attack. Morale is good, the men are full of vigour. One of the soldiers proposes the publication of a wall newspaper. The Secretary of the Young Communists' bureau, Vavilov, supports this suggestion, and they began right away to gather materials for the first number. Soldiers write short articles on scraps of paper in the trenches, sticking them on the blank page of their maps. What remarkable ideas, what feelings there are in these hurriedly-written letters of the Red Army fighters! It is decided that the paper shall be called *Attack*.

Thus, amidst the thunder of artillery fire, the screaming of shells, the first number of a fighting paper of the Red Army has been produced.

Dozens of these journals saw the light of day in the fighting at Lake Hassan. Experience has shown that these daily fighting sheets were the most efficient and rational in the conditions existing at the front. They, together with the newspapers produced, were made from beginning to end by the fighters who were defending the integrity of their Mother Country.

The editors of *Na Boevom Postou* ("In the Firing Line") were in the vanguard. Often the enemy projectile burst near the field printing shop. When that happened, the compositors took their type-cases into the trenches and continued, either sitting or kneeling, with their work of putting into type the fighters' notes. The newspaper was printed at night, the machinery being hidden in a deep trench.

Those connected with the editing of the journal went every day to the various sections, gathering material. They visited rear-guard units, went right up to the front. They supplied the fighters with paper, pencils and envelopes bearing the address of the editorial board. They took notes from the fighters, and helped them to prepare their articles.

The pages of *Na Boevom Postou* were filled with interesting reports on the heroic struggles which took place. In their letters the fighters of the Red Army told—modestly, simply, but at the same time vividly and imaginatively—of the courage of soldiers and commanders, of their hatred of the enemy and their boundless love for the fatherland.

The first number of a new journal usually takes weeks to prepare. 24 hours was the time given by the political director of the Red Army, Mekhlis, to prepare the first number of the army corps journal *Na Zachitou Rodiny* (For the Defence of the Fatherland) in the Lake Hassan sector. And the journal did appear in 24 hours. The *Pravda* correspondent (Vigdorovitch) and the correspondent of *Krasnaya Zvezda* (Red Star) took an active part in organising it. They went to the front, talked with the soldiers, commanders and commissars, gathered material for their respective papers and for *Na Zachitou Rodiny*.

The stirring appeal of *Na Zachitou Rodiny* appeared on the paper's front page in big type. The fighters could recognise their paper from far off. Fighters and political workers brought it to the trenches in packets. The precious paper passed from hand to hand.

Posinski, Commissar of the Regiment, declares:

"In general a sub-division receives two or three copies of the paper. Each fighter awaits with impatience his turn to read it. Sometimes he does not even get the chance: people keep the paper as a souvenir. And the soldiers themselves have instituted the following custom: whoever takes the paper must put his signature on it."

In hundreds of letters, articles, memoirs, notes and poems the fighters tell, in the pages of their paper *Na Zachitou Rodiny*, with what audacity our glorious soldiers fought, and how these battles gave birth to magnificent heroes who covered themselves with imperishable glory.

## The Flight of Kokkinaki and Gordienko from Moscow to America

THE following statement has been issued by the Governmental Commission for the Organisation of the Moscow-U.S.A. non-stop flight:

The flight of *Kokkinaki* and *Gordienko*, from Moscow to the U.S.A., which began on April 28 at 4.19 (Moscow time), terminated at 3.15 on April 29 at Miscou Island, Canada.

The machine followed this course: Moscow, Trondhjem, Reykiavik, Cape Farewell (southern extremity of Greenland), North America, covering 6,516 kilometres in a straight line in 22 hours 56 minutes. (The actual distance covered by the plane was about 8,000 kilometres, representing a speed of 348 kilometres an hour.)

The flight took place in the difficult atmospheric conditions which are characteristic of this course. Weather forecasts given before the flight proved accurate except for the New York region, where, according to a communiqué from the Washington Meteorological Station, a cloudbank at medium altitude was expected.

During the flight the plane crossed three cyclones, and was subject to a cross-wind and a head-wind as far as Green-



land, and a following-wind from Greenland to the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The weather became considerably worse in the region of New York and to the north-west of the capital, this being due to the rapid movement of the cyclone, which caused extremely poor visibility at a low altitude, making landing extremely difficult.

The flyers, anxious to reach New York at all costs, made a way for themselves in heroic fashion, attaining a height of 9,000 metres; but the approach of night and the further deterioration of the weather forced them to return to the Gulf of St. Lawrence and to make a forced landing on Miscou Island. The landing took place on unsuitable and swampy ground, and the machine was damaged. One of the aviators was slightly injured.

During the flight, the materials, the plane, the motors, the radio and all the equipment functioned perfectly. From the time the plane left, the Moscow radio stations were in close contact with the flyers until they landed. The quality of reception during the whole flight was excellent. During the entire flight 70 radio-grams were received from the plane.

The Governmental Commission considers that the flight of Heroes of the Soviet Union, Kokkinaki and Gordienko, accomplished under such conditions, is remarkable. In the course of this flight the team showed exceptional heroism and a high degree of skill. The Commission points out in particular that the landing of the plane *Moscow* on Miscou Island, because of its complexity and its execution, deserves to be classed as a heroic landing second only to that of Chkalov.

A flying speed of 400 kilometres an hour was reached. The machine met the first cyclone above Novgorod, the second over the shores of Iceland, the third over Greenland.

The route to Labrador was barred by a snowstorm. The plane turned towards the Atlantic Ocean. A head-wind burst on the

machine. Flying speed fell enormously. Past Cape Farewell, the flight became still more difficult. Fog and intense cloud forced the Soviet pilots to go up to 9,000 metres. Flying blind, breathing by means of oxygen apparatus, courageously did Kokkinaki and Gordienko approach their goal.

But night fell—the first night of this flight. In the New York region a grave worsening in the weather was felt. The Floyd-Bennet aerodrome broadcasted: It is forbidden to land in such atmospheric conditions. There was only one thing possible—to return to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Taking a north-easterly direction, the plane began to go away from the point planned for its destination which had already been so near. The machine rose to a height of 9,000 metres, and the thermometer indicated 48 degrees below zero. The radio-compass was frozen and stopped. It was hard to find the direction.

In the night the plane flew over the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Immense areas of ice and water stretched below it.

It was difficult to breathe. The least movement became painful. The apparatus functioned perfectly. There still remained 900 kilogrammes of petrol in the tanks. But the plane could not go anywhere: there was the worst weather in the south-east, ice and water lay before them to the north-east. They had to take the only sensible decision—to land. After circling a few times round Miscou Island, Kokkinaki became convinced that the land there was very marshy. Kokkinaki, with astonishing calm, manœuvred his machine so as to “pancake” it—that is, dropped it flat instead of gliding down. This manœuvre saved the men and the machine from certain loss.

Michel Gordienko quickly got out of his cabin to find Kokkinaki and help him out of the plane. Half-an-hour later they were surrounded by people. Kokkinaki and Gordienko spent the night of April 30 in a village on Miscou Island.

## Learn and Comprehend

# Contribution to the Marxist Theory of the State

By J. Stalin

**L**ENIN wrote his famous book “The State and Revolution” in August 1917, that is a few months before the October revolution and the establishment of the Soviet State. Lenin considered it the main task of this book to defend Marx’s and Engels’ doctrine of the State from the distortions and vulgarisations of the opportunists. Lenin was preparing to write a second volume of the State and Revolution, in which he intended to sum up the principal lessons of the experience of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917. There can be no doubt that Lenin intended in the second volume to elaborate and develop the theory of the State on the basis of the experience gained during the existence of Soviet power in our country. Death, however, prevented him from carrying this task into execution. But what Lenin did not manage to do should be done by his disciples.

The State arose because society split up into antagonistic classes; it arose in order to keep in restraint the exploited majority in the interests of the exploiting minority. The instruments of State authority have been mainly concentrated in the army, the punitive organs, the espionage service, the prisons. Two basic functions characterise the activity of the State: at home (the main function), to keep in restraint the exploited majority; abroad (not the main function), to extend the territory of its class, the ruling class, at the expense of the territory of other States, or to defend the territory of its own State from attack by other States. Such was the case in slave society and under feudalism. Such is the case under capitalism.

In order to overthrow capitalism, it was not only necessary to remove the bourgeoisie from power, it was not only necessary to expropriate the capitalists, but also to smash entirely the bourgeois State machine, its old army, its bureaucratic officialdom and its police force, and to substitute for it a new, proletarian form

of State, a new socialist State. And that, as we know, is exactly what the Bolsheviks did. But it does not follow that the new proletarian State may not preserve certain functions of the old State, changed to suit the requirements of the proletarian State. Still less does it follow that the forms of our socialist State must remain unchanged, that all the original functions of our State must be fully preserved in future. As a matter of fact, the forms of our State are changing and will continue to change in line with the development of our country and with the changes in the international situation.

Lenin was absolutely right when he said:

“The forms of bourgeois States are extremely varied, but in essence they are all the same: in one way or another, in the final analysis, all these States are inevitably the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The transition from capitalism to communism will certainly create a great variety and abundance of political forms, but in essence there will inevitably be only one: the dictatorship of the proletariat.” (Lenin, *The State and Revolution*).

Since the October revolution, our socialist State has passed through two main phases of its development.

The first phase was the period from the October revolution to the elimination of the exploiting classes. The principal task in that period was to suppress the resistance of the overthrown classes, to organise the defence of the country against the attack of the interventionists, to restore industry and agriculture and to prepare the conditions for the elimination of the capitalist elements. Accordingly our State performed two main functions. The first function was to suppress the overthrown classes inside the country. In this respect our State bore a superficial resemblance to previous States whose functions had also been



to suppress recalcitrants, with the fundamental difference, however, that our State suppressed the exploiting minority in the interests of the labouring majority, while previous States had suppressed the exploited majority in the interests of the exploiting minority.

The second function was to defend the country from foreign attack. In this respect it likewise bore a superficial resemblance to previous States which also undertook the armed defence of their countries, with the fundamental difference, however, that our State defended from foreign attack the gains of the labouring majority, while previous States in such cases defended the wealth and privileges of the exploiting minority.

Our State had yet a third function: this was the work of economic organisation and cultural education performed by our State bodies with the purpose of developing the infant shoots of the new socialist economic system and re-educating the people in the spirit of socialism. But this new function did not attain to any considerable development in that period.

The second phase was the period from the elimination of the capitalist elements in town and country to the complete victory of the socialist economic system and the adoption of the new Constitution. The principal task in this period was to establish the socialist economic system all over the country and to eliminate the last remnants of the capitalist elements, to bring about a cultural revolution, and to form a thoroughly modern army for the defence of the country. And the functions of our socialist State changed accordingly. The function of military suppression inside the country ceased, died away; for exploitation had been abolished, there were no more exploiters left, and so there was no one to suppress. In place of this function of suppression the State acquired the function of protecting socialist property from thieves and pilferers of the people's property.

The function of defending the country from foreign attack fully remained; consequently, the Red Army and the Navy also fully remained, as did the punitive organs and the intelligence service, which are indispensable for the detection and punishment of the spies, assassins and wreckers sent into our country by foreign espionage services. The function of economic organisation and cultural education by the State organs also remained and was developed to the full. Now the main task of our State inside the country is the work of peaceful economic organisation and cultural education. As for our army, punitive organs and intelligence service, their edge is no longer turned to the inside of the country, but to the outside, against external enemies.

As you see, we now have an entirely new socialist State, without precedent in history and differing considerably in form and functions from the socialist State of the first phase.

But development cannot stop there. We are going ahead, towards Communism. Will our State remain in the period of Communism also?

Yes, it will, unless the capitalist encirclement is liquidated, and unless the danger of foreign military attack has disappeared. Naturally, of course, the forms of our State will again change in conformity with the change in the situation at home and abroad.

No, it will not remain and will atrophy if the capitalist encirclement is liquidated and a socialist encirclement takes its place.

That is how the question stands with regard to the socialist State.

(Extract from Comrade Stalin's report to the XVIII Congress of the Bolshevik Party).

## CANADA

### CANADIAN YOUTH CONGRESS TO MEET IN JUNE

Toronto, Ont., May 18.

The Canadian Youth Congress has issued a call for the *Fourth Canadian Youth Congress*, to be held in Winnipeg from June 30 to July 3. The call has been sent out to 5,000 youth organisations throughout Canada.

Many hundreds of delegates, representing farm groups, are expected to attend the gathering this year because it is meeting in Western Canada. The first point on the agenda will be "Youth in Agriculture," to ensure a full discussion on this question. Other points to be discussed by Congress include Youth in Industry, Training Young Citizens, Canadian Unity, and Canadian Peace Policy.

## On the Writing of History

By Academician E. V. Tarlé

(An abridged report of a lecture delivered by Academician Tarlé to the Academy of Science at Leningrad.)

THE "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" occupies now, and will occupy in the future, a central position in the study of contemporary history and of all our political thought. Precisely for this reason it is of great usefulness for us to study the observations, important and significant to a high degree, which this volume devotes to questions of foreign policy. The observations possess enormous importance, in the full sense of this term, as much from the historiographic viewpoint as from the purely historical viewpoint; for the men who inspired and wrote this book are not the historians of the Party, but actually historic men whose names are for ever linked not only with the history of Russia and of the Soviet Union but with world history.

### HOW HISTORY SHOULD BE WRITTEN

In the "History of the C.P.S.U." we can find very distinctly drawn the theoretical theses, and concrete illustrations of the extremely important expressions of Comrades Stalin, Zhdanov and Kirov, contained in their well-known notes on the general conception of historical manuals.

These considerations may finally be reduced to the following: if you write history, write it so that there is chronological succession, so that it is not something mangled and cut up; but let history be history. This is only possible if we respect the chronological principle. In analysing phenomena in any given historical period, in any given chronological section, study all aspects of life, in their indissoluble relationship. Pay attention, not only to what was done before us, not only to that line of development which is of direct interest to you, but take into account the entire environment.

### DESIRE FOR A REDIVISION OF THE WORLD IS THE REASON FOR THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE IMPERIALIST POWERS

Capitalism is defending itself against that power which Marx and Engels termed its gravedigger, the proletariat—this is the basis of all its acts in the sphere of "home policy." But there is also another motive: the desire for a redivision of the world. This is the basis of the foreign policy of the imperialist powers.

The earth has become smaller; it has been staked out. It is no longer possible to occupy new areas without bloodshed. Everything has already been shared up. But new birds of prey wish to oust the older ones; the old ones defend themselves. At the present time, the new invasions must needs be accompanied by bloodshed. The time has passed when Leopold, the King of the Belgians, for example, could—by smart operations and engaging and financing a few groups of scoundrels—establish the unfortunately-named Independent State of the Congo, which is about 25 times as large as Belgium itself, without causing a European war. Those times have passed. Those were the "happy" times of the division of the globe; now the moment has arrived for a new division, when, at each seizure, one is obliged to eject an older robber and carry on an armed struggle against him.

### THE PROBLEM OF "WAR GUILT"

The statements of the "History of the C.P.S.U." with regard to the world war of 1914-1918 are of vast importance. When, in 1919, Germany was vanquished and crushed; when things had arrived at such a pass that the victors did not even invite her to the peace conference, but merely ordered her to sign a document which had not only been drafted, but also printed, in advance (the Versailles Treaty); among the 400 articles signed by the German representatives there was one which placed the full blame for the war on Germany.

A tremendous struggle has naturally taken place around

\*The "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" (English Edition) is obtainable in Great Britain through Collet's Bookshops, Ltd. 363 pp. Price 1s. 6d.—Ed., W. N. & V.



this question. This struggle did not have merely an ideological, moral or historical interest, but also a practical one.

On the basis of the article in question, a claim was formulated in the Versailles Treaty as follows: as it is Germany who is guilty of everything, she must pay all the victors' war costs. Thus, Germany quite naturally conceived the idea that, if it were possible to prove that the accusation was incorrect, this would invalidate the claims made upon her. Therefore, polemics began with regard to this.

At first Germany only asserted that the fault was not solely hers, but also that of the other imperialist powers. So long as Germany maintained this attitude, her position was fairly strong. But the publicists who represented the German possessing classes went further. That foul and deleterious poison which now infects Germany existed, in a rudimentary form, at that time, in 1920-1923—that is, in the first years of these polemics. Even at that period, the Hitlerite Press—supported by powerful financial forces—distributed newspapers and pamphlets at a loss—publications whose productive costs were three times that for which they were sold. Even at that time, the Hitler publicists, supported by Krupp, Thyssen and other magnates, brought forward a new proposition: Germany is not guilty at all; she is wholly guiltless of the war. She was attacked by Russia, they maintained. Russia used Serbia as her instrument; Serbia, desirous of uniting with Croatia, began to undermine the power of Austria, hoping to break her. To prevent the crushing of Austria, Germany was obliged to go to her defence. France, who dreamed of gaining Alsace-Lorraine, insisted that Russia aid her in a war of aggression against Germany. And, while Germany was innocently tranquil, praying to God to safeguard peace and quiet, she was attacked on all sides and thus forced to defend herself.

This crazy fantasy, the very extreme of falsehood, was already being formulated by some German publicists in 1923. Deplorable as it may appear, this deliberate lie was to some extent introduced into Soviet historiography. A certain German review, specially established to falsify the history of the war, named *Kriegsschuldfrage*\*—which lied 95 per cent. before Hitler and now lies 100 per cent. after Hitler—printed the following "solemn" assertion: "It is clear that we are innocent, that we were attacked."

The "History of the C.P.S.U." says what every historian, worthy of the name, will say: Yes, all the predatory countries had imperialist aims; yes, Russia and France and Great Britain all had annexationist inclinations. But Germany and Austria had them too, and in a very high degree indeed. It is quite ridiculous to assert that Austria and Germany were innocent, or even less guilty, than the Allies, who, however, also had predatory designs.

The redivision of the world was inevitable; all those powers which were strong enough to engage in a conflict dreamed of this. The "History of the C.P.S.U." puts an end to falsification and distortion with regard to Germany's innocence. Germany hoped to dispossess England and France of their colonies; to dispossess Russia of the Ukraine; to seize Poland and occupy the Baltic countries. Germany menaced British interests in the Near East. And, in order to cut Great Britain off from the East, Germany undertook the construction of the Baghdad railway; and it is precisely Germany which, while not being the sole factor, it is true, was one of the essential factors in the starting of a new predatory war for the redivision of the world. It is of this fact that we must be aware.

The fascists continue deliberately to ignore what is going on here, and continue to refer to certain unfortunate articles published some time ago, in the days of Pokrovski, in the *Krasny Arkhiv* and in the *Histoire Marxiste*.

The fascists write: "If even our enemies have already recognised the fact that it is we who were attacked, can one believe them when they cry that we are preparing aggression? We were innocent in 1914 as we are now in 1938." Such are the political conclusions drawn by the Hitlerite writers.

Thus, the observations expressed in the "History of the C.P.S.U." with regard to international politics have a great importance, not merely scientific, but of an immediate practical political kind also.

## THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE "DEMOCRATIC" POWERS DO NOT FEAR HITLER, BUT RATHER FEAR HIS FALL

When we come to what this book says on the present situation, we note at once how this "history that continues" is linked up with that which has existed previously, and how solid, logical and unbreakable are those links.

In the first place, this book establishes the following fact: there are countries in which the bourgeoisie, having noted that democratic liberties were being used against its interests, has swept them into limbo, has simply abolished the lot of them, and has established an aggressive dictatorship. This, as we all know, is what happened in Germany, Italy and Japan.

The "History of the C.P.S.U." examines the relationship between this section of the capitalist world and the other section where the bourgeoisie, for one reason or another, still provisionally stands by "democracy."

The conclusions to which this study leads are then stated without any circumlocution, conclusions the accuracy of which will not be disputed by a number of persons in France and Great Britain, and which also will probably arouse no dissent within the German General Staff, where there are serious, thoughtful and realistic men who are not particularly enthusiastic about the arrogant and stupid diatribes of the fascist Press. Our book speaks of an open secret, known throughout Europe—something that everyone knows and nobody mentions. In other words, it shows that Great Britain and France are much stronger than the aggressors. Why, then, do these two countries make all the concessions?

At the time of the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, certain independent French and British newspapers said: "It is ridiculous to suppose that Hitler will actually take a chance and start a war. The Germans won't even get near the Maginot Line. The Germany of Kaiser Wilhelm II was incomparably stronger than Hitler's Germany, and it held up for four years and three months. But Hitler's Germany couldn't hold for more than three months."

If we pass on to a consideration of events which have happened after the publication of the "History of the C.P.S.U." we find that this contention has been strengthened. Take the concessions made by Great Britain and France. To their own harm, and in aggravation of future peril, they surrender one piece of territory after the other to a braggart who is definitely weaker than they; who manifests fear even if shown the fist from afar. At the end of 1936, when Hitlerite foreign policy—losing all sense of proportion in its arrogance—began to speak of its desire to seize part of Morocco and to share it with Franco, it needed only a note, denying Germany any right whatever to invade Morocco, to reduce Hitler at once to silence on this matter.

But our book explains things which had not yet happened when it was published. At present, it is not a matter of Czechoslovakia.\* While one may say that Daladier and Chamberlain have made a fine gesture, that they have been most generous in giving away what does not belong to them (Czechoslovakia), at the present moment Mussolini's Government is threatening to seize Corsica, Tunisia, Savoy and Nice—in other words, to dismember France herself. Yet the Italian army is less than half the size of the French army! France has a population of 90,000,000 if we count also the inhabitants of those colonies subject to military service. And the French colonial army has shown that it well merits its military reputation, having proved this in the world war.

Furthermore, if we take Italy—a most poverty-stricken country—and compare it with France, where the cellars of the Bank of France are still chock full with gold; if we compare France with Italy from the economic point of view, it would appear to be merely a bad joke that the Italians should dare believe that the French would ever yield Savoy or Nice. Yet Italy continues to "utter threats," and they continue to talk of Tunisia, Corsica and Nice.

In the light of these apparently ridiculous claims, let us remember the precise and laconic statement in the "History of the C.P.S.U." with regard to this matter: *The strength of the*

\*This lecture was delivered before the occupation of Czechoslovakia.



aggressors does not reside in their military or economic importance, but in the fact that world capitalism has great need of the aggressors. The so-called enemies of the aggressors are in reality far from being their enemies, but are their friends.

On September 28 and 29, when Hitler was hesitant, Chamberlain and Daladier flew over to Germany to save him. Why? Because, if he had had to go away from Czechoslovakia without getting what he wanted it would have harmed his position in Germany itself; this might have increased the hatred always felt for him in Germany and might thus have brought about his downfall. So it was to save Hitler that they made him a present of Czechoslovakia, that, in the excitement and panic of the moment, they even gave him more than he asked for.

Finance capital in Great Britain and France needs Mussolini less than Hitler, as a bully for the working class, because the Italian working class is neither as numerous nor as strong as the German working class. We cannot yet say whether they will make a present to Mussolini of Corsica, Nice and Tunisia; perhaps not, but then that will only be because they need him less than they need Hitler.

The "History of the C.P.S.U." teaches us how to approach these matters sanely, without falling into Philistine errors; not to believe that Hitler is strong enough to have frightened countries as strong as Great Britain, with its great navy, and France, with its Maginot Line and first-class army. This book explains to its readers that those powers do not really fear Hitler, but fear that he may meet with a breakdown. And it is specifically in order to enable him to avoid such a fiasco that the present masters of the "democratic" countries yield to him in everything.

## The Great Men of the French Revolution

By Maurice Delon

### MARAT

**MARAT**—who was the first among the great revolutionaries to die—was a great figure in the Revolution, both because of his personality and the part he played. Born in Switzerland, in 1743, he acquired a substantial education in the house of his parents; he learnt most of the European languages, medicine, history, and science.

Studious and talented, and having from his childhood acquired the habit of study, his progress was rapid and brilliant. At 16 years of age, he lost his mother and set out for a journey across the world like a new Rousseau, getting a living by giving lessons. Of an ardent and imaginative nature, filled with a desire for fame, he neglected no branch of study and never ceased writing. He died, in fact, with the pen in his hand.

He corresponded with Franklin. Many of his works were translated into German, but by virtue of their polemical qualities, he antagonised all the universities and savants.

After various journalistic essays, he founded *l'Ami du Peuple*, one of the most celebrated publications in the history of journalism, of which the first number appeared on September 12, 1789. Marat sold the sheets from his bed in order to pay for the first issues of his journal. When the Convention was called, he suspended publication and began it again under the title of *Journal de la République Française*.

He became one of the leaders of the progressive movement of his party because of his attacks against the King, the Ministers and the Assembly.

He dealt with men and power as he had dealt with the academicians. He was hunted and had to hide himself, but he continued the publication of his sheet which was the real summoning call of the Revolution. His political vision was remarkable. Eight months before the King's flight, he wrote:

"The King's departure is again being planned. And it will be at Metz, under the protection of the counter-revolutionary Boullie that the King will place himself at the head of the enemies of liberty in order to attempt the counter-revolution."

We might add that he announced the defection of Lafayette and Darnouriez. A few days before the massacre, on the Champs de Mars, he predicted that he would use force to re-establish justice.

At the time of the decrees suppressing slavery in the colonies, foreseeing difficulties, he wrote:

"Instead of reconciling parties, it will cause dissension, whites, convulsed with anger, have left the Assembly, determined never again to appear there. Soon the coloured men, born of enslaved parents, the blacks themselves, enlightened on their rights, will claim them, and, if they are disputed, will arm to recover them."

But at the moment of the greatest danger the parties acted: the Gironde attacked the Mountain. Marat was arrested and tried; he was acquitted, and a few months later the Gironde collapsed. This was the time when Marat called: "Let us awaken—it is time!" In his paper, he acted as always the part of a master of energy and prudence:

"What are we to think of the Committee of Public Safety, or rather of its leaders, for the majority of its members are so lacking in conscientiousness that they spend hardly two hours of the 24 at the Committee's meetings, they are ignorant of almost everything done there, and perhaps have no knowledge at all of that section. Undoubtedly, they are all guilty of having accepted what they do not wish to accomplish. But the leaders are very criminal in so unworthily fulfilling their function. Among them is one whom the Mountain has most imprudently just renominated, and whom I regard as the worst enemy of the country: he is Barel. As for me, I am convinced that he is swimming with both currents in order to see which party will be victor. It is he who paralyzes every vigorous measure and who ties us down in order that we may be devoured."

The following day, after writing this, he was assassinated.

### ROBESPIERRE

Maximilian de Robespierre, one of the greatest figures of the Revolution, was one of those who ensured its triumph. He personified Jacobinism, and, as Lenin has pointed out, it is inherent in the bourgeoisie to hate Jacobinism.

Born in 1758 at Arras, the son of a modest notary, he lost his mother when he was six years old and was abandoned by his father when he was eight. An orphan, placed in a religious institution attached to the Abbey of Saint Waast, at Arras, he was later—thanks to his tenacious industry and merit—sent as a foundation scholar to the *lycée* (secondary school), Louis-le-Grand in Paris.

Here he turned out to be an intelligent, gifted and sensible pupil. Jean Jacques Rousseau, whom he met, made a great impression upon him, and he himself wrote on this subject:

"You taught me to know myself. When quite young, you made me appreciate the dignity of man, you made me reflect on the great problems of the social order."

In 1781, returning to Arras, he became a lawyer of the poor and the disinherited. He pleaded for the servant of the great Carnot, whose dishonest relatives tried to steal her inheritance. He won his case by means of a plea which had a wide echo throughout the country.

From that time onwards, he began to attach great importance to the development of science, and, smashing the reply which later a Conventionnelle was to make to Lavoisier, he said:

"The arts and sciences are the richest gift which heaven has made to man. The ignorant scorns science, the frivolous man sees in it only a source of comfort, the thinking man sees in it the source of the happiness of humanity and the greatness of the country."

In 1786, when aged 25, Robespierre became the leader of the intellectual elite of Arras. Elected in 1789 as a deputy of the Third Estate of the States-General, he was a member of the Constituent Assembly, and also of the Jacobins' Club, in which he played a highly important part. But, above all, it was when, after being elected to the Convention—both in Arras and in Paris which city had adopted him as its own—that he became leader of the Mountain and the soul of the Committee of Public Safety, that he took his right place in the history of the Revolution.

In his opinion, the State should look after the happiness of the citizen and assure him a subsistence, as is witnessed by the text of the plan for a *Constitution* which he drafted, as the following extract shows:

"Society is obliged to provide for the subsistence of all its members, either by procuring them work or assuring the



means of existence to those who are unable to work.

As for the rich, Robespierre says that they should pay according to their means, as follows:

"Those citizens whose means do not exceed that which is necessary to their subsistence are exempted from contributing towards the public expenses. The others should contribute progressively, in accordance with the extent of their fortune."

We may note, in passing, that Robespierre's conception of the State guaranteeing the right to work or subsistence is now embodied in the Constitution of the Soviet Union.

Robespierre was also profoundly in favour of peace.

Peace is not carried on the points of bayonets; but he knew, when tyrants imposed war on the people, how to call them to struggle and how to lead the people to victory.

The army must be a popular one, said Robespierre; it will be the people in arms:

"The National Guard can only be the entire nation, armed to defend its rights, if need be; citizens of an age to bear arms must be admitted without distinction."

But the Eighth Thermidor arrived, the signal for reaction. The road was open after this to the adventurers of the Empire who were to bleed France and Europe white. What Robespierre had feared in 1793 was now happening:

"If liberty perish in France, all nature will be swathed in a cloak of mourning, and human reason will retreat to the very abyss of ignorance and barbarism. Europe then would be the prey of two or three brigands who would revenge themselves on humanity by making war, and the strongest among them, by crushing their rivals, would take us back to the reign of the Huns or Tartars."

How these terrible words apply nowadays to a Europe menaced by fascism!

Was Robespierre cruel? He was above all a revolutionary, and all means appeared good to him to ensure the success of the people's cause.

"The terror is nothing else than prompt justice: severe, inflexible. . . . Until when will the fury of despots be called justice, and the fury of the people barbarism or rebellion? 'Leniency for the Royalists,' cry some. 'Mercy for the criminals!' No! Mercy for the innocent, mercy for the weak, mercy for the unfortunate, mercy for humanity." Robespierre has vanished but his work remains. It has lived, and, as he announced:

"The tyrants will be crushed, for it is the destiny of free men to overthrow tyrants."

#### SAINT-JUST

The two brief syllables of this name evoke both the most sombre and the most splendid hours of the Revolution. Terror was the order of the day. The *sans-culottes* were fighting against the allied tyrants with the fury of despair. Within the country, civil war raged; three-quarters of France had risen against Paris. Saint-Just was at Robespierre's side, the living symbol of the Revolution.

Young, elected a deputy at 25, he was to be guillotined at 27, having lived a whole lifetime in 22 months. Of an almost feminine beauty, yet with something inflexible in his expression; pure, intransigent, proud, never laughing, never smiling, supremely elegant, he was the strongest support of the Incorruptible (Robespierre). He knew how to be fierce; the seal which he added to his signature was engraved with the figure of a guillotine. Everything yielded to him, and he himself stated: "Circumstances are only difficult for those who recoil from the grave." He never recoiled from the grave.

In 1790 he made his first speech to the electors of Aisne. On July 14, elected a lieutenant-colonel of the National Guard, he led the delegation from Aisne to the festival of the Federation.

In 1791 he wrote to Robespierre, and this was the origin of their relationship. The same year he published *The Spirit of the Revolution, and of the Constitution of France*, on which he had for long been working. The book lacked unity, consisting rather of notes jotted down at random; he was still a monarchist and sometimes reactionary. Yet, here and there, we may glean remarks of considerable profundity and inspired by a purely revolutionary spirit.

In 1792 he was elected to the Convention; but he made his first important speech to the Jacobins where he rarely went after this. The question under discussion was that of a Conventional Guard which they wanted to recruit in the provinces. He opposed this. He wanted to arm the people, but not create a militia. He said:

"If the people itself were called to this vigilance, I would say that this is reasonable, and that the people should ensure your liberty; for you are its providence. . . . But, instead of calling about you the protection of the people you alienate it by a special corps."

This speech, which caused a sensation, was printed. At the Convention, he only spoke on important occasions, and revealed himself at the time when there was a question of ascertaining whether the king could be tried; nobody dared attack the King who was still an object of veneration. Furthermore, the King's treason had not been proved. Almost alone, Saint-Just and Robespierre had the courage to tackle this problem, and they did so with energy.

But it was when engaged on a mission that Saint-Just revealed himself in all his authority and energy, and also that he was freed from tutelage of Robespierre. He took pitiless measures against speculators.

"Anyone convicted of having sold at a price above the maximum shall have his house razed to the ground."

And if the soldiers were ill-clothed:

"Every coat in the city of Strasbourg is requisitioned." Or badly shod:

"Ten thousand men in the army are barefoot; you must take the shoes off every aristocrat in Strasbourg to-day, and by to-morrow at 10 o'clock in the morning let the 10,000 pairs of shoes be on their way to army headquarters."

And thus the reorganised army was victorious.

But the Ninth Thermidor came, as it did for Robespierre, and put an end to this youthful activity.

#### HOCHE

Lazare Hoche was born in Versailles in 1768. The son of a Royal groom, and motherless when quite young, he was brought up by his aunt, and received Latin lessons from his uncle. At 16, he joined the fusiliers of the Gardes Françaises, and employed his spare time in completing his education.

In 1789 he became a corporal, and an infantry adjutant in 1792.

His physical and intellectual qualities were noteworthy. In 1793, after a mission on behalf of the Committee of Public Safety, he was appointed adjutant-general of the army of the North. But this was the time of the invasion and all the generals were suspect; he himself was imprisoned, but was acquitted by the Revolutionary Tribunal. He was dispatched to suppress the counter-revolutionary rising in the Vendée where, thanks to his severe measures against the leaders of the rebellion and his wise mercy to the unfortunates who were misled, he was able to pacify the country within a short time. He then addressed the following proclamation to the peasants:

"Did you think that we were bloodthirsty and were going to avenge murder by murder? Did you think that by leading the Republicans against those among you who were armed, I was about to order death and spoliation? No! True Republicans do not commit cruelty; these very soldiers who caused you to retreat all wish to give you the kiss of peace."

In 1796, Hoche was appointed commander-in-chief of the army which was to operate in Ireland. The expedition started from Brest but failed because a tempest separated the flagship from the rest of the fleet. After this, ordered to the army of the East, he co-operated with Bonaparte and Moreau; but a chest ailment which had for long been undermining his health carried him away when only 29 years old, with a brilliant future awaiting him. The Government paid him magnificent tribute and he was generally acclaimed as a pure Republican. His rival, Bonaparte wrote, when in Saint Helena, of Hoche: "His was one of the finest military reputations of the Revolution. . . . Hoche was a real man of war."

(To be concluded)